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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL
Dissertation

N A T H A N I E L W A R D

His

LIFE AND WORKS

*
* *
*

Together with
an Edited Text of
his

SIMPLE COBLER

By

Shirley Wilcox Harvey

(A.B., Dartmouth College, 1916; A.M., Harvard University, 1918)

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Preface

Circumstances beyond the control of the writer have stretched the writing of this thesis over a period of years. Consequently, a certain lack of unity in style and treatment may have crept in. Yet the lapse of time has not been wholly without compensation, for it has permitted my understanding of Nathaniel Ward to ripen into something very like affection for the man himself, and to develop a broader sympathy with his ideals and efforts. Love and sympathy are, perhaps, the two qualities most needed in treating Nathaniel Ward and his greatest book, The Simple Cobler.

It is easy to pick out the progressive thinkers of three hundred years ago, but the mere liberal too often remains undistinguished from his conservative brethren. It will be one of the purposes of this thesis to show that Nathaniel Ward, intolerant though he may have been when judged by modern opinion, was yet in his own time and place a liberal-minded man. He clung tenaciously to what he sincerely believed to be the best in the past; he deplored destruction that was not clearly the first step in the building of better things; but to the problems of his day, he brought a ready understanding of the need of liberality.

In treating the facts of his life I have been handicapped by the lack of documentary evidence. The church records of his time are notoriously incomplete, and he left little in the way of personal records. It was my privilege, while working on this thesis,

to spend two months in England. The time was largely employed in searching through the King's Pamphlets of the British Museum in an effort to settle questions of authorship, and to determine the extent of Ward's participation in the pamphleteer battles of the period. The results of this investigation will be found in the following pages. The time left for running down biographical data was wholly inadequate, but what little new material I did find convinces me that many interesting facts about Ward's life still remain buried in the manuscripts at the Records Office in London or among the records of the Borough of Ipswich. Of his extended travels on the continent little is positively known, and unless clues are first forthcoming from English records, that part of his life will remain difficult to decipher; in treating it I have frankly resorted to inference and supposition.

Since I have confessed to the fault of incompleteness, I may be pardoned if I have dwelt in the following pages at considerable length on those chapters of his life that are open, particularly those dealing with his American residence. The historical facts of this period are well known and have often been treated. I have therefore discussed them only so far as they are of significance in Ward's life.

In as much as the chapter dealing with The Simple Cobler and its composition presents a full discussion of the various aspects of t hat book, and contains most of the material that would find a place in the preface to a new edition, I have added my edited text

without individual foreword. My purpose in furnishing such a text was to make available in a single text the reading of all four English editions. This has been accomplished by the use of foot notes in which all the differences in spelling, punctuation and reading of the four editions have been noted. It is therefore possible from this text to reproduce the text of any one of the four versions given to the public during Ward's lifetime.

The first edition probably appeared in January, 1647. It is not clear at just what intervals the three following editions were printed. A study of the major additions gives only a vague answer. The paragraphs added to the section addressed to the King suggest that they were penned shortly after the Scots surrendered Charles to Parliament in February, 1647. The lack of any reference even in the fourth edition to the seizure of the King by the Army would lead to the opinion that none of the editions are of later date than June in the same year. Yet this conclusion cannot be positively accepted. The added paragraphs and sections are all so general in tone and content that nothing definitely dates them. The balance of probability suggests that all four editions preceded Ward's Sermon before the House of Commons, in which his attack on the actions of the Army is sharp and definite.

Of the four editions only the third and fourth are designated as such on their title pages, but there can be no question as to which of the other two is the first edition. A consideration of the differences in material and typography make it certain that the one presenting the full names of the printers on the title page is

the first edition.

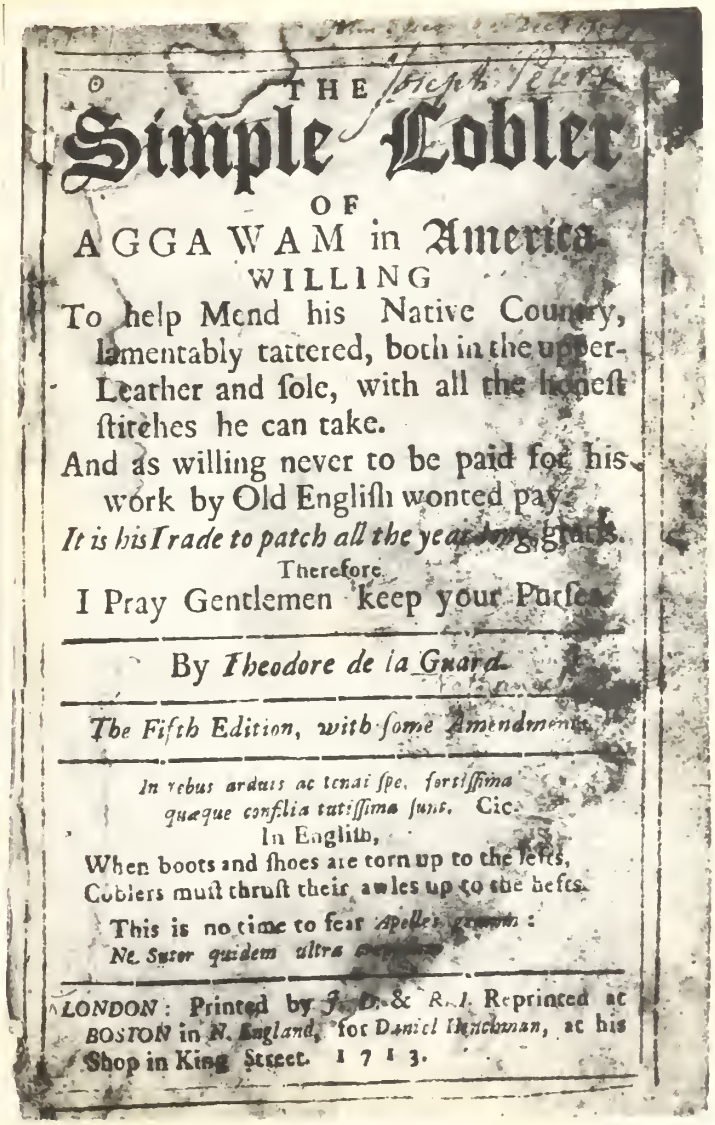
The accompanying facsimiles of the four title pages show clearly the slight differences that exist between them. The endings of the four editions are as follows. The first edition closes with the word FINIS in light face capitals with a short line above and below. The second and third editions have the word FINIS in heavy face capitals between lines and an ornamental tail piece below. The fourth ends with a long line. All four editions are foolscap quartos; the first three have eighty pages, the fourth, eighty-nine. These four editions are the only English printings of the book.

The first American edition was a reprint of the fourth London edition, but carried on its title page the words The Fifth Edition. It was published in Boston, 1713, by Daniel Henchman. Except for changes in the title page and the addition of a poetical postscript over the name of Jerome Bellamie, it follows the reading of the earlier book. The volume is an octavo of one hundred pages. In 1843, David Pulsifer of Boston issued an edited reprint of the 1713 edition collated with a copy of the second edition. This volume contains introductory matter and an Appendix. In 1866 some unsold copies of this edition were issued with a different title page. This title page was a verbatim copy of that of the second London edition. In 1844, the year after Pulsifer's edition, Peter Force reprinted the book in his Collection of Historical Tracts, vol. iii. This was a reprint of the Boston edition. In 1904, the Ipswich Historical Society issued a reprint of the fourth London edition with facsimile title page, preface and headlines. The text

was set in antique type. This edition was reprinted in a limited edition in 1906.

A bibliography of the works of Nathaniel Ward, as established by this thesis, forms the first section of my bibliography. To it I have appended the titles of those works in which there is reason to believe Ward may, to some extent, have collaborated. It should be noted, however, that his share in them is largely conjectural. They should be the object of further investigation and study. The main bibliography contains the titles of all works cited or referred to in this thesis. I have included a few titles from which general information was taken without specific citation. The bibliography is by no means a complete list of the works read or consulted in the preparation of these pages. Innumerable pamphlets, parish registers, diaries, volumes of correspondence, state and court documents were vainly searched for clues to the unknown periods of Ward's life. Since to have included them would have swelled my bibliography by several hundred titles, they have been omitted.

I am in debt to Professor William Wyatt of Tufts College for his friendly aid in running down some of the classical quotations in The Simple Cobler. To the Harvard College Library and the Boston Public Library I extend my acknowledgement of their courtesy in permitting me to reproduce the title pages of the various editions of The Simple Cobler.



THE
Simple Cobler
OF
AGGAWAM in America.
WILLING

To help Mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and ſole, with all the honeſt ſtitches he can take.

And as willing never to be paid for his work by Old Engliſh wonted pay.

It is his Trade to patch all the yeare long, gratis.

Therefore,

I Pray Gentlemen keep your Purſes.

By *Theodore de la Guard.*

The Fifth Edition, with ſome Amendments.

In rebus arduis ac tenui ſpe, fortiſſima quæque conſilia tutiſſima ſunt. Cic.

In Engliſh,

When boots and ſhoes are torn up to the ſeets,
Coblers muſt thruſt their awles up to the hefts.

This is no time to fear *Apelles* [illegible]:
Ne Sutor quidem ultra [illegible]

LONDON: Printed by *J. D.* & *R. I.* Reprinted at *BOSTON* in *N. England*, for *Daniel Henchman*, at his Shop in King Street. 1713.

Title page of the first American edition of

The Simple Cobler

(From the copy in the Harvard College Library.)

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Chapter I

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

1580-1616

Sometime in the year 1580, the exact date is unknown,[1] the quiet house of John Ward, preacher in the church at Haverhill in Essex, England, welcomed a new life -- doubtless with prayer and prompt baptism, although any secular record of either birth or consecration has vanished. The baby was called Nathaniel, a name frequently found in the records of the Ward family.

It was a vigorous and growing England, that England of 1580. In the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign changes were taking place that promised a new political era. Nathaniel Ward was destined to share in the making of that new era, for his active life spanned the period that stretched from Peter Wentworth's first bold cry for freedom of parliamentary debate to the very eve of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate. In other ways, too, England was changing, for the wakes of English ships were whitening distant seas, and a new dream of empire was dawning. It was in the year of Ward's birth that Drake's anchor splashed into the waters of Plymouth harbor after an epoch making circuit of the globe; and it was as a child of eight that he heard the story of the shattered Spanish Armada. Ecclesiastical thought and forms were beginning the metamorphosis that changed the Church of England from an English Catholic institution to an inherently Protestant one. Over his very cradle, from the lips of his father and his friends, must have passed heated dis-

cussions of the violent Cartwright-Whitgift controversy that was putting into Calvinism the fighting spirit later to march armed on Marston Moor. As a boy he read, or heard read, the biting phrases of Martin Mar-prelate; and his own literary productions seem to prove their influence a lasting one. But of the golden poetry and drama of Elizabethan days he probably heard little in the country parish where rural isolation and Puritan prejudice acted as a bulwark against the seething intellectual impulses of distant London.

His ancestry is lost, after two generations, in the mist of incomplete and missing records. According to a rough pedigree in the genealogical manuscripts of the Rev. Matthias Candler of Coddenham[2] his grandfather was "...Ward of Rivenhall in Essex, Gent." This forbear was apparently a layman of considerable esteem and authority. He was chief constable of his hundred, and on one occasion by the force of his oratory and personality quieted an unruly gathering on Rayne common. He had three sons, John, Edward, and one whose name has not been preserved. There were also two daughters, Abigail and Mary. John, the father of Nathaniel, seems to have been the only one who entered the ministry.[3] He was a preacher of some power, for Dr. William Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, was wont to say, "Give me John Ward for a text."[4] Fuller, in his Worthies speaks of him as a "painful minister at Haverhill for a long time," adding that some have said the abilities of his sons together would not make up the abilities of their father. "Nor were they themselves offended at this hyperbole, to have the branches lessened to greaten their root."

In just what capacity John Ward preached at Haverhill is

uncertain. It was probably as lecturer,[6] a position that his son, Samuel, held at a later date. He commenced his charge about 1573.[7] Toward the end of his life he removed to Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk. As his two sons, Samuel and Nathaniel, were born at Haverhill,[8] he did not leave there before 1580. It is very likely that it was even later, for the birth of his youngest son, John, who was born about 1594,[9] is not recorded in the Bury registers. Since the records of Haverhill are non-existent, this is only negative evidence, but such as it is, it would lead one to infer that John was born at the latter place, and that his father was at Bury for only about four years.[10] The elder Ward died in October, 1598, and his burial at Haverhill also suggests that he was more closely associated with that town than with Bury.

The church at Haverhill was apparently a beautiful and ornate structure in his time, if we may judge from the amount of ornamentation destroyed during the purifying orgies under Cromwell's regime. In the journal of William Dowsing, to whom was intrusted the task of destruction in Suffolk, occurs the following entry describing his activities at Haverhill. "At Haver[1] Jan. the 6th. 1643. We broke down about an hundred superstitious **Pictures**: and seven Fryars hugging a Nunn; and the picture of God and Christ; and diverse others very superstitious; and two hundred had been broken down before I came. We took away two popish inscriptions with ora pro nobis; and we beat down a great stoneing Cross on the top of the church."[11] Perhaps it was well that John Ward could not forsee the despoliation that lay in the future; yet he was unwittingly playing a part in its coming, for he belonged to the Puritan party and looked askance at many of the forms and ceremonies of his

church. Nor was his disapproval inactive, for he was once suspended for not wearing the surplice,[12] and in 1586 he signed the Book of Discipline prepared by the Puritan clergy.[13] His activity in the church affairs of the county is attested by his attendance at a synod of the puritan clergy held at Ipswich in 1589.[14] He perhaps arranged his ecclesiastical duties at this time to include a visit with his brother Edward who was probably living at Ipswich.[15] His daily life was that of a country clergyman, and as lecturer he came into particularly close relations with the common people of his parish, in whom we may assume he sought diligently to inculcate the Calvinistic faith he had adopted. Certainly he bequeathed to his sons a heritage of sturdy Puritanism. His removal to Bury, the county seat of Suffolk, widened his field of influence and increased his opportunities for service. But in the prime of life he suddenly sickened and died. That his illness was of short duration can be judged from his will, which was drawn up and signed October 9, 1598, and probated in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury October 31, 1598. This will is of peculiar interest, and runs as follows.

"In the name of God, Amen -- The nynthe daie of October, One Thowsand Fyve Hundred eightie nyne, Elizabethe Quadragesimo, I John Ward preacher of God's woord in Burye Ste Edmond in the countye of Suffolke, being verye weake in bodye, and yet of perfect Remembrance (Thanckes be to god therefore), doo ordaine my last will and Testament in maner, and forme following: Firste, I bequeath my soule into the handes of God my mercyfull father in Jesus Chryste, by whose pretious bloudshedding he hathe wasshed and saved me from all my synnes. And my bodye to buryed where it shall please God. Item, I geue unto my

youngest sonne John Ward, One hundred pounds of lawfull englishe money, To be payd unto him when he shall accomplishe the full age of Twentye one yeares. I geue vnto Abigayle my daughter One hundred pounded of lyke money, To be payed vnto her at her full age of Eightene yeares -- Item I geue vnto Marye my daughter, One hundred poundes of like money, To be lykewyse payd vnto her when shee shall accomplishe her full age of eightene yeares. Item, my will and mynde is, That yf anie of theis my said children decease and depart this lyfe, before they and every of them accomplishe their said severall ages, Then the porcon or porcons of him or her so deceased shall remayne and be equally devided to the other twoo, or one then living. Item I geue vnto my sonne Samuell Ward All my Bookes & Apparell. Item I geue vnto my sonne Nathanyell Ward sixscore pounded of lyke lawfull money to be payd vnto him when he shall accomplishe the full age of Twoo and Twentye yeares. Item, I ordayne Susan my wyfe sole Executrix of this my last will and Testament. And my will is that within twoo monethes after my decease shee enter into sufficyent bond vnto my brother Edward Ward with suertye or suertyes for the performance of this my laste will, and education of all my said children vntyll they accomplishe their seuerall ages aboue menconed. Prouided allwaies, and my will and minde is, that yf my said wyfe shall refuse to enter into suche bond with sufficient suerty as is afore sayde, Then as nowe, and nowe as then, I ordaine and make my said brother Edward Executor of this my said will. In witness whereof I haue herevnto sett my hand and Seale the daye and yeare first aboue wrytten. John Ward. Sealed and subscrybed in ye presence of Lawrence Neweman and John Woodd.

Memorandum that theis woords (within twoo monethes after my decease) and (vnto my brother Edward Warde) were interlined before sealing and signeing of this present will in their seu'all places and lines within wrytten in the presence of the witnesses within named.

(Proved in the prerogative Court of Canterbury, 31 October, 1598, by Anthony Callton, Notary Public, Proctor for Susan Ward, relict of the testator & the Executrix named in the Will)."

There are several things in this document to pique the curiosity of the reader. Especially odd is the passage providing for the executorship of the brother in case the wife shall "refuse" to enter into the required bond. Was John Ward away from home when he was suddenly striken ill, and "very weake in bodye" obliged to dictate his will without knowing if his widow would care to undertake the duties of executrix? Was he perchance at Bury and his family still at Haverhill? It seems odd, too, that he made no express wish as to where he should be buried. He calls himself "preacher of God's woord in Burye Ste Edmond", yet he does not request that he be buried there. Of more immediate interest is the clear proviso for the education of his children, and the bonding of his wife to insure its fulfillment.

John Ward was buried at Haverhill. In the chancel of the church where he so long labored was later erected the following quaint mural tablet that still keeps his memory alive.[17]

JOHANNES
WARDE.

Quo si quis scivit scitius,
Aut si quis docuit doctius,
At rarus vixit sanctius,
Et nullus tonuit fortius.

Son of thunder, son of ye dove,
Full of hot zeale, full of true love,
In preaching truth, in living right,
A burning lamp, a shining light.

Lights here. Stars hereafter.

Iohn Ward, after he wth great evidence and
power of ye spirite, & wth much fruite, preach^{d}
ye Gospel at Haveril & Bury in Suff. 25
yeares, was heere gathered to his fathers.
Susan, his widowe, married Richard Rogers,
that worthie Pastor of Wethersfielde. He
Watch left 3 sonnes, Samuel, Nathaniel, Iohn, preachers, Warde.
who for them & theirs, wish no greater
blessing than y^{t} they may continue in beleeving
& preaching the same Gospel till y^{e} coming
of Christ. Come, Lord Iesus, come quickly.

Watch Death is our entrance into life. Warde.

Nathaniel was the second son, his brother Samuel being three or four years older, and his brother John some fourteen years younger. As we have seen from the will of the father, there were also two sisters, Abigail and Mary,[18] whose births probably came between Nathaniel's and John's. Most of Nathaniel's childhood must have been spent at Haverhill. Concerning it we know only that it was passed in the austere atmosphere of a Puritan parsonage. Yet with five children in the family there must have been companionship and hours of childish play. Simple comfort and such social and intellectual opportunities as a rural parish afforded were his, and in this environment he grew up.

It is likely that both Samuel and Nathaniel attended the Grammar School at Bury St. Edmunds, although the incomplete school lists do not contain their names. It was the nearest school of importance, and was of Puritan leanings. Likewise, the father's residence at Bury would fall in the period when Nathaniel, at least, would be preparing for Cambridge. If the latter did obtain his preparatory education there, it was under the Head Mastership of John Wright, who had charge of the school from 1583-1596.[19] On November 6, 1594 Samuel went down to Cambridge, admitted scholar of St. John's College on Lady Margaret's Foundation by Lord Burghley's nomination. In 1596 he went out B.A. This same year at Easter term, Nathaniel followed his brother's footsteps to Cambridge, matriculating as sizar in that "nursery of Puritans", Emmanuel College,[20] which had been founded twelve years before, and was still under its famous first master, Dr. Lawrence Chaderton.

In the shaping of a man's character, the nature of his education and the environment in which it is obtained play no inferior part. Emmanuel College at this time was unique, and the characters of her early graduates almost uniformly reflect the college that formed them. And so, although we know nothing of his actual life there, his residence at Emmanuel must have been one of the strongest influences in shaping Nathaniel Ward's subsequent career and character.

Walter Mildmay founded Emmanuel May 25, 1584.[21] He had already been a generous benefactor of Cambridge, especially his own college of Christ's. He was a Calvinist, and deeply interested in ecclesiastical matters, but his religion was of that practical sort that

permitted him, as a man of affairs, to hold public office under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth without danger of disgrace because of his religious opinions. To Mildmay, the most important element in the religious life of the people was the preaching of the Word. He therefore bent all his energies toward a reform of the clergy. The unfitness both in respect to education and godliness of a large number of the Church of England ministers had become notorious. Vacant livings were hawked as merchandise by patrons, and advertised for sale on the very doors of St. Paul's; and in many parishes sermons were heard only once a month. There was the sting of real truth in the satirical verses of the time:

> "Saw'st thou ever Siquis patch'd on Paul's church door,
> To seek some vacant vicarage before?
> Who wants a churchman that can service say,
> Read fast and fair his monthly homily?
> And wed and bury, and make christen-souls?
> Come to the left-side alley of Saint Poules.
> * * * * * * * * * *
> A thousand patrons thither ready bring
> Their new-fall'n churches to the chaffering;
> Stake three years stipend; no man asketh more:
> Go take possession of the church-porch door,
> And ring thy bells; Luck-stroken in thy fist:
> The parsonage is thine, or ere thou wist.
> Saint Fool's of Gotam mought thy parish be
> For this thy base and servile simony."[22]

Moreover plural livings often left the care of a flock in the hands of unqualified, even licentious, curates and readers. It was for the reform of these abuses particularly that Mildmay worked. His greatest contribution toward this end was the founding of Emmanuel. The purpose of the college is made clear enough by two quotations from the statutes he drew up for the governing of the foundation.

"I wish all to understand, whether Fellows, scholars, or even pensioners, who are to be admitted into the College, that the one object which I set before me in erecting this College was to render as many as possible fit for the administration of the Divine Word and Sacraments; and that from this seed-ground the English Church might have those that she can summon to instruct the people and undertake the office of pastors, which is a thing necessary above all others. Therefore let Fellows and scholars who obtrude into the College with any other design than to devote themselves to sacred theology, and eventually to labour in preaching the Word, know that they are frustrating my hope and occupying the place of Fellow or scholar contrary to my ordinance."[23] To further ensure the fulfilling of his purpose, he gave a supplementary statute in 1587 that forced a Fellow to vacate his fellowship when he reached the standing of D.D., that is to say ten years after his M.A. Its object he makes clear in the following terms: "We have founded the College with a design that it should be a seed-plot of learned men for the supply of the Church, and for the sending forth of as large a number as possible of those who shall instruct the people in the Christian faith. We would not have any Fellow suppose that we have given him in this College a perpetual abode -- a warning which we deem the more necessary in that we have ofttimes been present when many experienced and wise men have taken occasion to lament, and have supported their complaints by past and present instances, that in other Colleges a too protracted stay of the Fellows has been no slight bane to the common weal and to the interests of the Church."[24] Thus he sought to guard the puritan hive he was setting up from in-

tellectual or spiritual drones. This statute was at once the cause of controversy, and many exceptions were soon made under it.

Emmanuel, then, was intended as a Puritan theological school and nothing else, and this intention was strictly carried out for the first few years of its existence. Even up to the time of the Restoration it remained in general what its founder had intended it to be, although the number of men who did not enter the church continued to increase gradually.

Mildmay's first task was to find a master who would carry out his views; and he found him in Lawrence Chaderton. Chaderton had acquired his Calvinistic bent as an undergraduate at Christ's, much to his father's disgust, who threatened him with disinheritance because of his adherence to the sect. He was a sound scholar in both the classics and theology, but it was as a vigorous and moving preacher that he was best known. Mildmay could not have found a man in closer sympathy with his designs or one better fitted for the task. As a theologian he was distinctly a Calvinist, but moderate in his views and conciliatory in his policies. He sympathized with the extreme wing of the Puritan party without fully sharing their views. On the other hand, his influence at court, and the respect that James I had for him, kept the royal hand from Emmanuel during the days of "harrying" when that monarch was venting his wrath on the puritan clergy at large. Bancroft, who as Archbishop of Canterbury was a bitter opponent of the Puritan movement, seems never to have turned his persecutions against Chaderton or his College, because, it is said, Chaderton had once saved his life during undergraduate days.

The influence and respect in which the first master was held by the public at large can be read in the rapidity with which the college was filled, and the steadily increasing yearly enrollments. From the first, the ecclesiastical side of life at Emmanuel seems to have differed from that of its sister colleges, and to have been of a distinctly non conformist cast. After reading some of the contemporary comments concerning Emmanuel, one is hardly surprised at Laud's later characterization of it as a "nursery of puritanism."

One observer says: "All other Colleges in Cambridge do strictly observe, according to the laws and ordinances of the Church of Englande, the form of public prayer prescribed in the Communion Booke. In Emm. College they do follow a private course of public prayer, after their own fashion, both Sondaies, Holy daies, and worke daies."[25]

The irregularities in the form of worship at Emmanuel were touched upon in the examination of Chaderton on the third day of the Hampton Court Conference in 1604:

"Bishop of London -- And Mr. Chaderton, I could tell you of sitting communions in Emmanuel College.

Mr. Chaderton -- It is so, because of the seats so placed as they be; yet we have some kneeling, also in our chapel."[26]

Finally in 1636 the following damning report was sent to Laud: "Their Chapel is not consecrate. At surplice prayers they sing nothing but riming Psalms of their own appointment instead of ye Hymnes between the Lessons. And Lessons they read not after ye order appointed in ye

Callendar, but after another continued course of their owne. All service is there done and performed (psalmes and hymnes and all if they read any) by the minister alone. The students are not brought up, nor accustomed to answere any verses at all. Before prayers begin the Boyes come in and sitt downe and put on and talk aloude of what they list. Their seates are placed round and above the Communion Table. When they preach or commonplace they omit all service after ye first or second lesson at the furthest."[27]

While the non conformity that prevailed at the college seems to have been to a certain extent systematic, there is much that suggests laxity or indifference. It seems certain that the forms and changes of ritual adopted were not at the instigation of any one individual nor the product of any one system of worship. Very likely they reflected rather the ideas of the fellows and students as a body than the purpose or will of the master, although he must, of course, have been aware of what was going on and of the adverse criticism it was arousing in church circles. But whatever the cause of its irregularity, the nature of the ecclesiastical training to which the students of Emmanuel were subjected is best reflected in the later lives of the men she graduated. This indicates a wide variety of opinion. Glancing at three outstanding figures who early held fellowships, we find James Waddesworth, who graduated in 1589, embracing the Catholic faith in 1604, and later departing for Spain where he became an officer in the Inquisition. Joseph Hall, who was elected a scholar in 1591, and Fellow in 1598, after devoting most of his time to poetry and literature, rose through various preferments to the Bishopric of Norwich, from which he was ejected by the puritan par-

liament in 1643. Another Fellow, William Bedell, became Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh in Ireland. He seems to have reflected more closely than the others Chaderton's own ideas. He remained a staunch churchman, but sympathized and worked with the Puritan leaders who were seeking needed reforms. He does not however seem to have been inclined to reject the ritual of the church, although he did accept the basic ideas of Calvinism.

But that remarkable group of Emmanuel men who eventually passed over to New England was, perhaps, most representative of the college. Of the one hundred and four New England leaders who had received their university training at Cambridge, thirty-four came from Emmanuel.[28] The list contains such familiar names as: Thomas Hooker, Simon Bradstreet, Nathaniel Rogers, Thomas Shepherd, Richard Saltonstall, John Harvard, and Nathaniel Ward. All of the ministers in the group, with the possible exception of Ward himself, eventually embraced extreme Separatist doctrines. The churches over which they presided were congregational in form, and they held their pulpits by the "call" or election of the church members themselves.

It can safely be assumed, I think, that the religious ideas that floated about the halls of Emmanuel College in the days when Nathaniel Ward was an undergraduate were radical and varied. But the leadership that Emmanuel men assumed after their departure from the college shows that it must have been an atmosphere of deep and sincere spiritual feeling that was nurtured there.

The nature of the intellectual training that Ward underwent

can be pretty clearly imagined from the following abstract or summary of the college Order Book. "Each undergraduate had a Tutor, but it might be any of the Fellows, apparently at his choice. The disciplinary authorities were the Master and Dean, the latter being appointed year by year. The education was in the hands of Lecturers -- a Head Lecturer, a Greek Lecturer, and a Lecturer in Logic -- each of whom examined his own class, and could punish youths 'when they offended'. For religious instruction there was a Catechist, who not only lectured in the chapel, but questioned the students publicly. Even then the question of compulsory Greek seems to have been started, for a special order (1598-1600) was needed to ordain that 'every Scholler under the degree of Bachelour of Arte shall be bounde to be an auditour of the Greek Lecturer, except it shall seeme goode unto the Lecturer with the assent of the Master and his Tutor to exempt any one particularly.' It also required a special order at the same time to give the Greek Lecturer the same authority in examining them, seeing exercises, and punishing defaults, as the Head Lecturer had 'concerning the morning lectures.' Questionists are to sit 'to be opposed' on January 13 and 14 in the parlour from 1 to 3 p.m. The books necessary for them to have read are 'Ramus' Logick, Aristotle's Organon, Ethics, Politiques, and Physiques, and if they can or will they may read Phrigious his Natural Philosophia."[29] It is interesting to note that the study of Greek became compulsory only in the last year of Ward's residence. This probably explains the almost total lack of Greek in his works. In the Simple Cobler, for example, there is only one quotation from the Greek, and that a single line from Homer.

It would be interesting to know under what tutors Nathaniel Ward actually studied, but there seems no way of determining. Of the men holding fellowships during his residence there, and whose influence he would be most likely to have felt, we have already named three: Bedell, Waddesworth, and Hall. To these might be added the name of Dr. Samuel Ward who in 1599 became Master of Sidney College. All of these men left Emmanuel shortly after or about the time that Nathaniel Ward did, and probably were at the height of their influence in the college during his undergraduate days. The turn for the satirical that is found in some of Ward's works, especially the biting note that creeps in, may well be a reflection of the satirical genius of Joseph Hall, whose first volume of satires was printed in 1598, and must have furnished a topic of conversation among the Emmanuel men of the day. Again Nathaniel Ward's essential conservatism in religion, and his policy of seeking the middle path, reflect the ideas of Dr. Samuel Ward more closely perhaps than those of any other. Although they bore the same name, there does not seem to have been any blood relationship between the two men.

In 1599/1600 Ward took his A.B. degree, and proceeded A.M. in 1603. There is no evidence that he remained at the college after taking his first degree, although he must have returned to the college for his advanced degree since all degrees had to be received in person.[30] In Carter's History of Cambridge published in 1753 his name appears in a list of learned writers not masters or fellows. The section of the list in which his name occurs is followed by the terse statement: "most of the foregoing as in the other List, of Puritan Strip."[31] Since nothing is actually known of his activities while at Emmanuel, it is

impossible to do more than generalize as to what he got from his university experience. Although the college, as we have seen, was primarily a theological school, it does not appear that Ward was at first intended for the ministry. Years later he wrote, "All I can doe, is to guess when men speak true or false Divinity."[32] It does not seem likely that the emphasis of his studies was on theology. It is probable that from the first he was intended for the law.

The years immediately following his university career still remain a blank so far as specific knowledge of his movements are concerned. He married shortly after leaving Emmanuel, and seems to have returned to Haverhill, where his oldest son was born November 5, 1606.[33] His wife's surname is still unknown, her given name was Elizabeth. His older brother Samuel had married Deborah Bolton of Isleham, Cambridgeshire, in 1604, thereby vacating his fellowship at Sidney Sussex.[34] The latter became lecturer at Haverhill after his departure from Cambridge, but he could not have held this charge long for on November 4, 1605 he was chosen Town Preacher at St. Mary le Tower in Ipswich.[36] It seems probable, too, that Susan Ward was still living at Haverhill with her youngest son, then about nine years old. Hence there is a strong balance of probability that Nathaniel Ward was living at Haverhill during the years immediately following his residence at Emmanuel. There is nothing, however, to indicate his occupation there.

The next record we find of his movements is in the Admission Register of Lincoln's Inn. Here we find the following entry: "1607, June 15, Nathaniel Warde of Essex, Gent."[37] In as much as Haverhill was at that time generally considered a part of Essex, the record would

further support the theory that he was at Haverhill. Apparently, then, Ward left his family at Haverhill, perhaps with his mother, and came down to London to enter on the study of the law. Again we are faced with a complete lack of recorded fact as to his activities.

Although the records show that he was admitted in 1607, he may not have entered upon residence until the following year. The probability is that he did not. The Black Books record that he was called to the bar October 17, 1615.[38] One of the requirements of a call to the bar was seven years' residence, and the call was more or less automatically made at the expiration of the seven years. Ward would normally, then, have been called in 1614. The four other men called at the same time, Richard Creshheld, Arthur Tyndall, Edward Campion, and Edward Ascough, all entered in 1608. This delay may have been occasioned by a lack of vacant chambers in Lincoln's Inn. Residence in chambers was required for admittance to the society; and from a reading of the Black Books one infers that chambers were much in demand and not always to be had. In such cases it was often recommended that the candidate take chambers in one of the Inns of Chancery until an opportunity to remove to Lincoln's Inn offered.[39] Therefore Ward may have resided in Furnival's Inn, which was the Inn of Chancery connected with Lincoln's Inn. Such residence did not count toward a call to the bar, as the Inns of Chancery were of inferior grade. The other two chief requirements of call were the payment of required fees and attendance at readings before the bar for two years previous to the call. It may be that Ward delayed fulfillment of one of these requirements.

The institution which Ward entered was the oldest of the Inns

of Court.[40] The date of its founding is uncertain. The Inns of Court were not incorporated by charter, but were "voluntary societies." They seem to have assumed their individual organizations in the reign of Edward III, and this is probably the period when Lincoln's Inn emerged. Its early history and the much debated question of its first site are interesting subjects, but have no immediate relevancy here.[41] The period of Ward's attendance, however, was one of rapid growth and expansion. The Black Books show clearly that extensive construction of buildings was taking place, and that the number of students was increasing.

Life at Lincoln's Inn during the first quarter of the seventeenth century must have been both boisterous and gay, if the Black Books are a true mirror: and the garrulous pages of the contemporary Stow unroll for us a vivid picture of the "rich and stately walkes" of the "towardly young active gallant Gentlemen" of the Inns in honour of the marriage of the princess Elizabeth in 1613. Did Ward have a part in this pageant with its "antique or mock maske of Baboons, attire like fantastique travailers, in very strange and confused manner, ryding upon Asses, or dwarfe Jades, using all apeish and mocking trickes to the people, moving much laughter as they past, with Torches on either side"? It is safe, I think, to answer the question in the negative, but it all must have been a leavening experience in the training of the future puritan divine. And it must be that those seven years in the tumultuous life of Chancery Lane left some mark on his character. May it not be that the wit and sharp humour that enlivens the pages of The Simple Cobler gained their edge in the give and take of repartee at Lincoln's Inn commons?

The actual training that a student underwent in the time of Ward can be ascertained in a general way from Stow, illuminated by scattered references in the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn itself. "In these fower Innes of Court viz. the two Temples, Lincolnes Inne, and Grayes Inn doe Cohabit, Common, Studdy, and practice Young Gentlemen, the sonnes of the best and better sorte of Gentlemenne of all the Shires of England (and which have beene formerly bred, and brought uppe liberally in good schooles, and other Universitys) who at their first admissions in the house are called Students and Gentlemen, of such and such Inne of Courte. And after some yeeres well imployed in the Studies of their professions viz. the municipall Law of Englande) they obtaine the degree and stile of Inner Barresters, and at the seven yeeres ende they preceede tor become outward Barresters, and are then said to be called to the Barre, and shortly after they are allowed to make publik profession and practise of the Law in all courts and to give counsell unto Clients, and hereuppon they are called councellors at the Law, and learned Councell."[42] There must have been some variation from this general course in the individual Inns. There is no reference to "inner Barristers" in the accounts of Lincoln's Inn. The three degrees or ranks among the members were: Benchers, Barristers, and Students. The distinction between Inner and Utter Barrister in the Inns where it did exist is not clear.[43] At Gray's Inn the Inner Barrister seems to have been a higher degree than that of Utter Barrister, and to have been more or less synonymous perhaps with Bencher.[44] From the Black Books we learn that to hold his standing as an Utter Barrister a candidate had to keep regular readings for a period of three years after his call to the bar. He also had to bring

in his Barrister's Moot within one year. The latter provision seems to have been enforced.[45] There is no evidence that the first was anything more than a theory, at least there is no record in the Black Books of a continuance having been terminated.

From Stow we learn something of the methods of instruction. "Concerning the Schollerlike exercises which they have in these houses: they have conferences, and disputations which they call mootes, and pleadings, and putting cases, and Lectures, and readings uppon the Lawes and Statutes of England. But these ordinary Lectures and readings are not performed with such magnificence, (as those more solemn readings are whereof I spake before) which are only kept in the Lent, and in August, viz. twice a yeere. But all these readings, as well the greater as the lesser, serve much for helpe and instruction of all professors there assembled, but chiefly of the younge Students and Tyrones, who also if they be diligent, and desirous to attayne to the better knowledge of the Law, doe not only frequent these mootes, and lectures holden in their Houses, but also in the Tearme times resort to Westminister hall to heare the pleadings, and arguments, and judgments of the best, the chiefest professors and Judges of the Law."[46] This general description seems substantiated by the Black Books, where we find mention made of the "Grand Moots", although there seem to have been three at first, and by 1626 only two. It may be that at that time Lincoln's Inn conformed to a custom previously current at the other Inns of Court.[47] From the foregoing one can form a fair estimate of the legal training of Nathaniel Ward. It was probably the best that England afforded, and from his later achievements we can well believe that he made the most of it,

studying diligently and to good purpose. As we shall see, it is not likely that he fulfilled the requirement of three additional years of attendance at exercises. How long he did remain, if at all, there is no way of knowing. The Black Books contain no further reference to his name after his call to the bar.

It is with this period of Ward's life that one is tempted to connect the name of Francis Bacon. In 1618 Ward was instrumental in publishing a tract by his brother Samuel.[48] To this work he prefixed a dedication to Bacon, then Lord Chancellor. In it occurs this phrase, "For my part, bounden to your Lordship for a favour formerly received, greater then your Honour knowes of, or I can expresse". What this favor may have been is unknown, and remains a tantalizing and apparently unsolvable puzzle. Bacon had entered Gray's Inn in 1580, and resided in chambers there the greater part of his life.[49] During the years between Ward's leaving Cambridge and entering Lincoln's Inn, Bacon was busy with his efforts to gain advancement in the legal profession, with the trials of Essex, and later of Raleigh. It was in the very month of Ward's admission that Bacon attained the office of Solicitor-General.[50] For the next six years, apart from his governmental activities, he was busy with civil practice and literature. In 1613 he became Attorney-General.[51] His biographies and his letters offer no suggestive clue from which even a hypothesis of Ward's relations with him may be deduced. Yet during that period Bacon was at Gray's Inn and Ward was at Lincoln's Inn, and both were of the same profession. From 1597 until 1614 Bacon represented Ipswich in Parliament,[52] and, as we shall see, Ward during this time became identified with that town. It is possible that Bacon assisted

Ward is some way while the latter was at Lincoln's Inn; either in the matter of his admission, his procuring of chambers, or his call to the bar. We know, too, that Bacon gave readings at Lincoln's Inn.[53] The most that we can say is that Lincoln's Inn and Ward's residence there gave the two men an opportunity to meet, but what, specifically, such a meeting may have involved remains pure guess work.

The ascertainable facts of Ward's more intimate and personal life during the period just discussed are few but of importance. In 1609 his younger brother, John, entered Emmanuel College,[54] and sometime before February 12, 1614, Nathaniel moved his family to Ipswich, in Suffolk County. In the parish records of St. Nicholas church of that town, he subscribed to the list of baptisms with John Day, the minister, under the last mentioned date.[55] And again on April 13, 1615 he subscribed with the minister to the list of burials.[56] In what capacity his signature was made is not clear, it was most likely as church warden. In the same records under the date of October 29, 1615 is recorded the baptism of "Samuel the sonne of Nathaniel and Elizabeth Ward."[57] It is from this entry that we learn the given name of his wife. The records contain no other mention of this son, and, as we hear nothing further of him, he probably did not survive childhood. On March 26, 1616 Nathaniel Ward was admitted a "free burgess" of the town.[58]

The cause of Ward's removal to Ipswich is conjectural, but it may very likely have been the marriage of his mother to Richard Rogers.[59] At any rate, while still residing at Lincoln's Inn, he evidently became associated with the parish of St. Nicholas, and on his departure from London became a burgess of the town. He may have started

the practice of law there, although there is no record of his having done so. The only indication in his published works or letters that he ever actively practiced his profession, is the following phrase: "having spent so much time in the study of the law, and execution of some offices as made me weary of the errours I saw, heartily wish the reformation of them"[60] The word "offices" may refer to some public office he held or to some legal work he performed for a client.

The year 1616, then, found Ward apparently settled at Ipswich, a lawyer trained, an "utter barrister", a man of rank in the town, a prominent and influential member of his parish, the brother of the town's most famous and beloved minister. His long period of education and preparation seemed completed; he was thirty-six years old, the head of a family; he must have felt that at last his pathway lay open and clear before him. But he was not destined for the quiet life of a country lawyer, for the course of his life was nearing a sudden and radical change.

Notes on Chapter I.

1 The birth of Nathaniel Ward is not recorded, but there is good reason to believe that it was in 1580. Mather (Magnalia i:470) states that he was born at Haverhill about 1570, but the will of John Ward shows that Nathaniel was under 22 in 1598. He therefore was born after 1576. His brother Samuel, who was older, was born about 1577, so Nathaniel was born as late as 1578. The difference in age indicated by the four years that separated the brothers at Cambridge suggests that Mather's date is a typographical or copying error for 1580.

2 Tanner Mss. 257 Bodleian Lib.; Harlian Mss 6071 Brit. Mus. cited by Dean p. 16. A copy of the Ward pedigree by Candler is printed in Dean p. 124.

3 It is not certain that he was a university graduate. Cooper identifies him with the John Ward who matriculated at Christ's, April 1579; B.A. 1581-2; but the dates make this all but impossible. Venn quotes Cooper but expresses his doubt of the identification.

4 Firmin's Real Christian preface.

5 Fuller's Worthies of Eng. iii:186-7.

6 Dean p. 14. "Rev. Lawrence Fairclough was the vicar of the parish until 1603, and possibly Mr. Ward may have been his curate. Rev. Mr. Davids, however, thinks it more probable that he was Lecturer there, as his son Samuel is known to have been at a later date."

7 Since his name does not occur in a list of subsidy returns from Haverhill in 1568 (Suffolk Green Books XII) he came after that date.

The Memorial Tablet says he preached at Haverhill and Bury 25 years, hence he probably came to Haverhill about 1573.

8 Fuller's Worthies of Eng. iii:186; note 1 ante.

9 Dean p. 162

10 Brook (Puritans i:305) identifies him with a Mr. Ward of Writtle in Essex who was suspended by Aylmer in 1584. The identification seems doubtful. See Dean p. 15.

11 Suffolk Arch. vi: 101. A further account of the church can be found in the same work iv:99.

12 Brook's Puritans i:46. The name that precedes Ward's on the list is "Lawrence Fairclough vicar at Haverhill." This also suggests that Ward was at Haverhill with Fairclough at this time.

13 Ibid i:306. Brook's authority is Neal who does not give Ward's christian name. (Neal's Hist. of the Puritans ed 1871, i:183).

14 Bancroft's Dangerous Positions p. 89 "I find mention also of another Synod, 1589, held (as I take it) at Ipswich. Thus one John Warde did write, that year to certain at Ipswich: I thinke not to come over, till the Synode, which is (as I take it) a moneth after Michaelmas."

15 This seems suggested by the Candler pedigree.

16 Dean p. 130. Dean prints from a transcript made by Jos. L. Chester. The date 1589 is an obvious error of transposition in the last two figures. The regnal date is clearly the correct one. John Ward's youngest son was not born until 1594.

17 Dean p. 17.

18 These two daughters are not given in the Candler pedigree, but he lists persons of this name as sisters of John Ward. Abigail is said

to have married Samuel Wood of Dedham: and Mary, Samuel Waite of Wethersfield. The latter town was the home of Susan Ward's second husband, Richard Rogers, and the Rogers family was also identified with Dedham. These facts suggest that Candler may be wrong and that these were the daughters, not the sisters of John Ward. They may have accompanied their mother to Wethersfield where Mary met her husband and married.

19 Suffolk Green Books xiii:xix.

20 Venn.

21 Shuckburgh's Emmanuel College is the authority for the miscellaneous information about the college, unless otherwise noted.

22 Satires of Joseph Hall Aldine Poets 54:39.

23 Shuckburgh's Emmanuel College p. 23.

24 Ibid p. 24.

25 Ibid p. 35.

26 Fuller's Church History of Britain iii.192.

27 Shuckburgh's Emmanuel College p. 30.

28 Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications 25:14.

29 Shuckburgh's Emmanuel College p. 30.

30 Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications 25:19.

31 Carter's History of the University of Cambridge p. 358.

32 Simple Cobler p. 16.

33 Mather's Magnalia i:470.

34 Dean p. 136.

35 Brook's Puritans ii:452.

36 Bacon's Annals of Ipswich p. 424.

37 Records of Society of Lincoln's Inn, Admissions i:145.

38 Ibid Black Books ii:175.

39 Ibid p. xxi.

40 Spilsbury's Lincoln's Inn p. 1.

41 See Turner and Spilsbury for a discussion of the subject.

42 Stow's Annals p. 974

43 Spilsbury p. 17.

44 Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors iii:9.

45 Black Books ii:202.

46 Stow's Annals p. 975.

47 Black Books ii:45;265.

48 post p. 35.

49 Letters of Bacon intro. lxx.

50 Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors iii:55.

51 Ibid p. 60.

52 Clarke's History of Ipswich p. 434; Bacon's Annals of Ipswich p. 391.

53 Spilsbury p. 19.

54 Venn.

55 Parish Records of St. Nicholas p. 53.

56 Ibid p. 133. The writer has inspected the original register, which is preserved in the church, and both signatures are Nathaniel Ward's beyond doubt or question. His signature is characteristic, and did not vary throughout his life.

57 Ibid p. 153.

58 Bacon's Annuals of Ipswich p. 461. "14 Ja (Tuesday) 26 Marche, Mr. Nath[ll] Ward was admitted ffree burgess of this Towne, having 2 sonnes,

John and Sam[1]." In his preface (p.1) Bacon says, "I purposely omitt the names of the freemen from time to time meeting at the greate Courts of the Towne and of such as are from time admitted (unless somme chief men of rank)."

59 The date of the marriage of Susan Ward to Richard Rogers is not known, but it must have been before April 16, 1618 (New England Historical Genealogical Register xvi:326). She was still living at Wethersfield in 1639, for she is so mentioned in the will of her son Samuel Ward.

60 Postscript to Samuel Ward's Jethro's Justice of Peace. See post p. 35.

Chapter II

TRAVELS

1616-1622

"My heart," said the Simple Cobbler, writing during the autumn of life in the quiet solitude of a New Ipswich in a New England, "hath naturally detested foure things: The standing of the Apocrypha in the Bible; Forrainers dwelling in my Countrey, to crowd out native Subjects into the corners of the Earth: Alchymized coines; Tolerations of divers Religions, or of one Religion in segregant shapes."[1] In the first and last of his detestations, we hear the voice of the puritan divine, but his second and third belong to the world of moth and rust. What has the puritan minister to do with these? They are, I suspect, the only echo to be found in The Simple Cobler of Ward's life at Ipswich in Old England. For there, we must believe, he came into contact with commerce and men of trade as he took the path that led him from the law to the pulpit. The Ipswich of 1616 was a busy seaport that, since the times of Elizabeth, had found it necessary to curb by statute the encroachment of "foreainers".[2] These were mostly, to be sure, thrifty Dutch and Flemish weavers, but none the less anathema to the native inhabitants who were finding it increasingly difficult to compete in the making of woolen cloth with the rising industries of the inland towns, especially Bury. And what with the coming and going of so heterogeneous and irresponsible a crowd as the sailors and ship masters represented, one had, I fancy, to inspect the coins one accepted with a shrewd eye for clipped or debased pieces.

The Ipswich that one may visit today is a modern little city of some 80,000 inhabitants largely occupied with manufacturing. It lies upon the sloping banks of the Gipping, where that stream widens into the tidal estuary of the Orwell, a landlocked inlet extending eleven miles before it enters the sea at Harwich and Felixstowe. The docks and quays of Ipswich are still filled with shipping, although it is the coastwise trade that predominates now. But in the narrow streets of the old part of the town with their ancient timbered houses of the 16th century, or in the churches of St. Mary le Tower, St. Clements, and St. Nicholas with their ancient brasses and monuments, one can still catch a lingering breath of the atmosphere of the old Ipswich that Nathaniel Ward must have known so well. It was an ancient town even in the seventeenth century, for it had received its charter in the first year of King John, a free borough with a "Merchants Guild" and freedom from "toll and stollage" throughout the realm.[3] Originally it was a walled town, but all traces of the embankments have vanished, and only in the names of the streets are the lines of its ditches and fosse preserved. The export of wool, that staple of early England, centered in the port from the surrounding county. In the time of Elizabeth the Ipswich merchants even dreamed gloriously of rivalling Antwerp as a free mart for the cloth trade,[4] but the rise of manufacture in other centers banished the vision forever. Through the gates of its port there drifted into Suffolk the skilled weavers of the continent, who helped to establish the manufacture of cloth, it is true, but brought with them their reformed religion, to the consternation of my Lord Bishop of Norwich, the prelate of the diocese, who drove many of them, we are told,[5] into Holland and distant New England.

In the summer of 1616 there must have been something of a stir among the merchants of Ipswich, for his Majesty and the Privy Council had just issued new ordinances to the Society of Eastland Merchants, and to this company most of the chief burgesses of the town belonged. The Eastland Company was one of the older of the great trading companies. Its first charter had been given it by Henry IV,[6] its rights had been guarded in the treaty of Utrecht by Edward IV; and Elizabeth, in 1579, had granted a charter under which the company had operated, not without ups and down, until James and his councillors had, in reply to grievances against the London Company seen fit to issue these new ordinances. It had a long if not brilliant career lasting into the eighteenth century, for Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations[7] mentions it as still existent. It was in the Baltic trade that the Eastland Company engaged, with their out-port at Elbing in Prussia. It was a national not a local organization, and its merchants were gathered at York, Hull, Ipswich, Newcastle, Lynn, Bristol, and Plymouth. They exported cloth chiefly, and brought in from the Baltic ports, corn, hemp, flax, timber, and saltpetre. The company faced the sharpest kind of competition from the Dutch.[8] Nor did they enjoy a complete monopoly in England,[9] for there was much friction with their larger and more aggressive rivals the Merchant Adventures. It was to smooth out some of these difficulties that the new ordinances had been established. The company was a regulated company, not a joint stock company. This meant that admission to the society was open to any merchant on payment of a certain fee and observanceof the by-laws. The activity of the company was also restricted in scope. The seat of

its government was in London, and although its charter was in general a liberal one, not unlike in outline the later charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, it actually enjoyed little local self-government. In each of the towns where the company was represented there was a court of Assistants, a Deputy, a Secretary and a Treasurer. But the final and real authority rested with the Governor and court of twenty-four Assistants at London. Only a provisional authority remained in the hands of the provincial Deputies. Greater power was given to the Deputy and court at Elbing. The records of the company are few, for the London fire of 1666 and the carelessness of local secretaries have left scant documentary evidence of the company's activities. But interesting as the fragmentary story is, it does not directly concern us here.

What is important is that there was renewed activity among the Eastland Merchants in 1616, and that probably in the following year, Nathaniel Ward deserted his law books for the position of company's chaplain at Elbing. Perhaps John Cutler of Ipswich, friend of Rev. Samuel Ward,[10] knowing of his pastor's younger brother, a disillusioned young barrister not averse to harkening to the call of the Lord, recommended him to his cousin Thomas Cutler, Secretary of the Eastland Merchants at Ipswich. Certainly it is not an illogical assumption. At least we know that by 1618 Nathaniel Ward was in the ministry at Elbing.[11] We do not know exactly when he left Ipswich, but under the circumstances it was very likely in 1617 that he boarded ship for Elbing. What thoughts were his as the vessel dropped down the Orwell with the tide we can only surmise. His life so far had been one of trial and

error. If the profession of the law had been his own choice, he had already decided it to be a wrong one. What would eventually be his destiny was still without clearness in his mind. And when the ship dropped anchor off the Bar at Elbing and he went over her side into the small boat that was to take him to the scene of his new experiment, his problem went with him.

Elbing was at that time a small town, still not much more than a trading post, filled with a motley crowd of various nationalities intent only upon trade. We can well believe that the atmosphere of the place was one of bargaining rather than of religious zeal, not a propitious place for beginning a ministerial career, nor one calculated to bring forth the talents that Ward possessed. Moreover he was a Calvinist, and Prussia was still predominatingly Lutheran. There must have been, too, much disaffection among the English population, largely made up as it was of the Eastland merchants and their apprentices, for the town was by no means an ideal out-port for the company. The obstacles in the way of successful trade were many, and within four years the company would be petitioning the king for their removal to Dantzig.[12] Although nominally a Prussian town, Elbing had been since 1454 under the protection of the King of Poland,[13] and duties had to be paid to him as well as to the Duke of Prussia. The Bar at the mouth of the river was growing year by year, and the cost of reloading cargoes to and from small boats cut sorely into profits. Added to the economic troubles there was political unrest and the threat of approaching strife for the dice were already being shaken for the Thirty Years War.

Of Ward's personal activities and life at Elbing we know

almost nothing. If there was any enthusiasm in his answering the call to do God's work, it finds no reflection in the products of his pen at this period. Only a passing reference to the bluntness of speech among the Lutherans with whom he came in contact hints at his reaction to his environment at Elbing. Yet here were penned the earliest known examples of his work that have come down to us, and slight as they are they must be given consideration.

Early in 1618 a sermon by Samuel Ward was printed in London. Since it deals with the problems of local magistrates it was probably preached on the occasion of some county assizes in Suffolk. It bears the title Jethro's Justice of the Peace and was entered in the Stationer's Registers on April 22, 1618. The content of the tract does not concern us, although it is interesting to note that it dealt with legal matters, and hence was probably of especial interest to Nathaniel. For this publication the younger brother wrote a dedication addressed to Francis Bacon. In a postscript, which takes the form of a letter to his brother, he assumes responsibility for the appearance of the tract and asks pardon for its publication without the author's knowledge. He apparently carried the manuscript with him when he left Ipswich. His postscript tells us that he contemplated adding material of his own but on second thought suppressed it, fearing that it was too outspoken. Samuel Ward seems to have been averse to publishing his own works, and several of his other tracts were probably due to his brother's initiative, although what they were cannot be determined.[14] The dedication and postscript to Jethro therefore remain as the earliest specimens we have of Nathaniel's style. They show something of the mannerisms

of his later work, and are significant in a study of the man himself.

"To the Right Honovrable Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England, &c.

"When wee see one goe or doe amisse, though his feet or hands be the next actors and instruments of his errour: yet we say not, Are you lame? but, Haue you no eyes? Can you not see? What euer sweruings or stumblings any part of the body politique makes, the blame lights not vpon the Gentry or Comminality, the immediate delinquents, but on the principall lights in Magistracy or Ministery, which being as Guardians and Tutors of the rest, should either pruent or reforme their aberrations. And herein miserable is the condition of these two opticke peeces, that they are more subject, and that to more distempers then other inferiour parts: yet heerein more, that being hurt, they are more impatient of cure; not onely of searching acrimonious waters (which yet oft are needful) but shie of the most soft and lawny touches: but most of all in this, that being once extinct, they leaue a voyd darknesse to the whole body, exposing it to the pits of destruction. As exceeding great on the other hand, is the happines, honor and vse of them, if cleere and single. For this, our Nationall body, it will little boot either to applaud the one, or to bewaile the other. I rather wish and looke about mee for some eye-salue, which may help to descry and redresse, if anything bee amisse. And behold heere (right Honourable) a confection promising something thereto. It was prescribed first by Iethro, whom Moses calls the eyes of Israel, Num. 10,31. And newly compounded by an Oculist of whom as I may not, so I need not say anything at all. Next vnder the sacred Fountaine of light (the light of our Israel), I

worthily accompt your Lordship most sufficient in law to accept, to make vse, to iudge, to patronize it. The subiect of the booke is the principall obiect of your office, to elect, direct, and correct inferiour Magistracy. To which purposes, Nature, Literature and Grace haue inabled you, that if you should faile the world's expectation, they will hardly trust any other in haste. Many in rising haue followed the stirrop, pampered and ietting honour not standing the ground, but once seated, haue done renownedly. But your Lordship had neuer any other graces then your birth and desert; to which hereditary dignity hath so greatly tendered itselfe that you haue not let fal your name of religion in getting vp. Therefore now you are in the top of honour, all that know you look you will be exactly honourable. For my part, bounden to your Lordship for a fauour formerly receiued, greater then your Honour knowes of, or I can expresse: I shall leaue Iethro to be your Monitor, and myselfe remaine euer an humble suitor to God who hath made you a Iudge of conscience, that hee would make you continue a conscionable Iudge, improouing your place and abilities to the best aduantage belonging to it, the furtherance of your reckoning at the last day.

"Your Honours daily Beadsman.

"Nath: Ward."

The epistle or postscript is as follows:

"To my louing Brother, Mr. Samvel Ward:

"Brother, if you meet with your Iethros counsell returned from beyond the Seas, and as much beyond your expectation preserued aliue, as his sonne in law was against Pharaoh's Iniunction; meruell as much as you will, but bee no more offended then you haue cause. Joab sinned wider on the other hand, in destroying Dauid's Absalom, contrary

to his serious charge, Ioab was pardoned, and yet no brother. I haue noted you hitherto inexorable for your owne publishing of anything of your owne; whether out of iudgement, modesty, curiosity or melancholy, I iudge not: But when others haue aduentured them with fruit and acceptance into the light, I haue seene you rest content with the publique good. The like leaue I haue taken, expecting the like successe, assuring you and myselfe of the generall welcomnesse and vsefulnesse heerof to all whom it concernes, which are the greatest number of the land, euen so many as haue any reference to Sessions and Assises, if not all sorts of Christians. Onely I feare that the corruption of our times is growne so grosse and Egdon-like that it doth not Ehud-like enough sharpen the poynts and send them home to the heft, that they may reach to the quicke. I had myselfe, added thereto a proiect and perswasion for the redresse of many abuses crept into the offices and officers, hauing spent so much time in the study of the law, and execution of some offices as made me weary of the errours I saw, and heartily wish the reformation of them: but fearing I haue learned too much bluntnesse and plumpnesse of speech among the Lutherans, which is here as prime a quality as smoothnes with you, as also loth to meddle out of mine orb, in my second thoughts I suppressed it. And so wishing vnto this, many diligent, conscionable and ingenious Readers and Appliers, and to them, God's blessing and the fruit intended, I take my leaue. From Elbing in Prussia.

"Your brother in the flesh, in the Lord,
and in the worke of the Ministery.
"Nath: Ward."[15]

The dedication could not have been penned earlier than January 4th, 1617/18, on which date Bacon was appointed Lord Chancellor. In addition to furnishing us with the tantalizing problem, already discussed, as to what sort of favor Ward had received from Bacon, it indicates clearly certain traits of its author. Ward had an instinctive respect for constituted authority. If he was no believer in the divinity of kings, he had at heart a firm belief in a central authority responsible to God rather than the people. To the fit and the able, as being "Guardians and Tutors", it is given to "elect, direct and correct" inferior magistrates. These are the ideas and utterances of the inherent aristocrat who pins his faith on the rule of the few rather than the many. As we shall see, Ward was never democratic in his theories, although he was fully alive to the danger of irresponsible authority. These basic ideas are evident in all of his later books and actions. The problem he could never solve was how authority might safely be circumscribed and made responsible to the best thought of the people, how human law might be made most nearly to conform to divine justice and the will of God. He was balked like the later Carlyle, whom he resembles in many ways, in finding criteria by which to recognize the God-inspired leader when he appeared.

There is a note of uncertainty and doubt in the dedication. Bacon had just been made Lord Chancellor, the highest legal position in the kingdom. From his experience at Lincoln's Inn, Ward was probably only too well aware of the depths to which the English courts had sunk in their subservience to James I. It would be within the power of the new chancellor to do much to stem the rising tide of corruption, and

bring about needed reform. Ward saw clearly that such reform must be immediate if the complete prostration of English justice was to be avoided. He may, moreover, have known Bacon well enough to doubt his personal integrity, and to fear the very disasters that, two years later, decended upon the chancellor. In reminding Bacon that in his upward climb he had never let fall his name of religion, Ward doubtless had in mind the conflict taking place in Bohemia, the clouds of which were already overshadowing the whole of Germany. From his place in Elbing he could see that the threatened conflagration was to be essentially a struggle between Protestantism and the Catholic forces dominated by Spain. If the Elector Palatine, the rising leader of the Protestant states, was to hope for success, support must be forthcoming from his father-in-law James I. To assure such support, undivided and sincere pressure would have to be exerted by every influential member of the English court. The dedication, then, seems to be a veiled appeal to Bacon for his support of the Puritan party in England in its domestic and foreign policies. Characteristically his appeal is for vision. It is by holding resolutely and clearly to the picture that the future will unroll as the result of immediate acts that the path of justice can be discerned. This regard for the future becomes one of the most characteristic aspects of Ward's thought. In nearly all of his controversial works, in all of his political actions, we never find him the advocate of momentary expediency. Two forces are always paramount in his thought, an ideal of conduct and a future that will see its fruition if the petty demands of the immediate situation are ignored. If he is apt to find the present unsatisfactory and hence

to strike a pessimistic note when dealing with current affairs, he always looks ahead to a time that may, if idealism and justice triumph, be the fulfillment of man's happiest inspiration. This characteristic was to be at once the foundation of his greatest success, and the cause of his final frustration and concession to circumstance. It robbed him of the power to meet vigorously the problems of the moment; in times of partisan strife, the prophet is the last man to whom the populace will give ear. He could not compromise, and his inability to meet the immediate situation with practical concessions was to keep him many times aloof from the current of action. The moment of crisis when decision had to be made between two possible courses, both distasteful and inadequate to his ideal, found him always unwilling completely to abandon his own impossible path.

Another quality that was to become marked in later life is apparent in the postscript: his hesitancy, as he here expresses it, "to meddle out of his orb." Often it takes the form of an expressed doubt of his own ability, equally often it is little more than the stock phrases of Puritan humility. To the casual reader his constant reiteration of his own unfitness suggests cant and hypocrisy, but a careful consideration of the man and his character must lead one to the conclusion that they were sincere expressions of self-distrust. It is notable that they are not with him so frequent nor so superlative as with many contemporary writers. Neither are they found in juxtaposition with self righteous acknowledgements of God's mercy. There was no false humility in the make-up of Nathaniel Ward, but there can be no doubt that the consciousness of his own fallibility often robbed

him of the sense of security that might have led him, by his own undoubted force of character, to impose a personal leadership upon those about him. When he is deeply stirred there is no lack of vigor in his attack, nor does he ever hesitate to denounce what he holds to be false. If at times he seems to lack self-assurance he never lacks courage. His bluntness of speech, which he here attributes to his association with the outspoken Lutherans, was, I suspect, inherent, and strengthened by his residence at Elbing rather than acquired there. It is a quality that is not lacking, by the way, in the works of his brother Samuel.

Although the literary importance of the dedication and postscript to Jethro is small, they are of unique value in being positive and direct proof that Ward was in the ministry at Elbing by April 22, 1618, and this is the nearest approach that can be made at present to dating his entrance into the ministry. Just when and under what circumstances he gave up his chaplaincy is not known. One can only surmise that it was the political troubles commencing with the revolutionary outbreak in Bohemia on May 23, 1618 that turned his thoughts toward home. The previous year there had been a disastrous bankruptcy among the Eastland merchants at Elbing,[16] and this with the gathering war clouds may have led him to give up his position, or may have forced him to do so. Whatever the cause or whenever the time of his going, he evidently did not return directly to England; his journey took him at least to Heidelberg, the Hague, and Antwerp. He tells us in The Simple Cobler that he has seen "the best part of twenty Christian Kings and Princes"[17] as well as "most of the Reformed Churches of

Europ."[18] In the same work he tells of conversations with David Pareus who filled the chair of theology at the University of Heidelberg from 1584 to 1622. Doubtless a desire to see and talk with this learned and venerable leader of Calvinistic theology was influential in leading him to Heidelberg. Moreover the capital of the Palatinate had been a Mecca for English travelers since the marriage, in 1613, of the English Princess Elizabeth to Elector Frederick. However he must have reached Heidelberg before September 25, 1619 to have found the Elector and Electress in residence there, for about that date they departed for Prague to assume the throne of Bohemia, to which Frederick had been elected on August 22. He may have done so. It is even within the range of possibility that he became attached to the court in some capacity, such as chaplain, and accompanied the royal couple to Prague, witnessing the ceremonies of coronation on November 4th and 7th. If such were the facts he must have shared in the trying and disastrous days that followed, ending in the decisive defeat of the Bohemian forces in the Battle of the White Mountain outside the walls of Prague November 8, 1620. He would have followed the King and Queen in their hurried flight first to Breslau, then to Frankfort, to Custrin, and at last to the Hague, where, in 1621, the harrassed Frederick found sanctuary at the house of Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador. Ward tells us in the Simple Cobler[20] that he once held Prince Rupert in his arms, and apparently the boy was then old enough to talk, promising to be a good prince. Rupert was born at Prague December 18, 1619, and would therefore have been three years old when his father and mother were at Sir Dudley Carleton's. It is highly probable that this episode

took place at the Hague in 1621.

If, as seems more likely, considering the lack of direct evidence to the contrary, Ward did not accompany the Elector's Court when they left Heidelberg, but remained for some time with Pareus, he certainly would have left before 1621 when the Spaniards besieged that city and Pareus fled to Amweiler. If he went directly to the Hague, his residence there would still have coincided with that of Frederick and his Queen, and under the circumstances an English traveler would certainly have paid his respects to Elizabeth, who had always been the object of great affection among the people of England. The only other indication that Ward was ever associated with the Bohemian royal family or their retinue is the fact that in the Simple Cobler[21] he quotes some verses as a saying of a lady "living sometime with the Queen of Bohemia."

From the Hague, he apparently went to Amsterdam where he heard the famous Henry Ainsworth preach, and found much in the attitude of the congregation to criticise if the following statement by his son-in-law Giles Firmin refers to him, as seems highly probable. "A neare friend of mine (yet living), a Divine well known, traveling into Germany coming home, in Holland, he went to hear Mr. Ainsworth, who preached a very strong sermon (the person was able to judge). While Mr. Ainsworth was preaching, my friend observed the carriage of his members, it was, he thought not becoming the Ordinance (I will not write all he told me, lest I should be thought to write out of malice), very dull and dead that was the fairest; when Mr. Ainsworth had done, they now were to prophesie; my friend said that he observed, that those, who sate

so dully and unreverently, while their Pastor was preaching very excellently, now their time came to prophesie, rose up, and were so perke and lively, that he could not but note their carriage."[22] Already he was feeling a growing antagonism to the independent spirit that was creeping into the church. Three echoes of his experience in Holland are found in the pages of the Simple Cobler. "I lived in a city, where a Papist preached in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calvinist in a third; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calvinist the other, in the same Pulpit: the Religion of that place was but motly and meagre, their affections Leopard-like."[23] "Being sometimes in the Crowds of foraigne Wederdopers, that is Anabaptists; and prying into their inward frames with the best eyes I had; I could not but observe these disguised guises in the generality of them."[24] "It was a well salted speech, uttered by an English Christian of a Reformed Church in the Netherlands, Wee have the good Orders here, but you have the good Christians in England."[25] These passages suggest a stay of some length, although whether they refer to the Hague or Amsterdam is uncertain, both cities permitted liberty of worship. He certainly remained in the Netherlands long enough to absorb a hearty distrust of a general toleration of religious sects. His natural habits of thought and his association with the established church predisposed him to such an attitude. His contact with the actual practice inspired in him a genuine detestation that was wholly sincere, although it led to utterances that have shadowed his reputation among later generations with a charge of bigotry and harshness, a charge that is far from just and essentially foreign to his real nature.

Thus the period of his European travels came to a close. He probably returned to England in 1622, very likely before August 30, when his son John matriculated at Emmanuel.[26] He had traveled far in the three years since his departure from Ipswich. He had come into contact with men of various rank and race. He had been in the thick of political conflict and actual war. Much of his experience must have been both disillusioning and disagreeable, but he must also have found much that was inspiring and enlightening. Certainly his contact with Pareus strengthened him in his zeal for his new calling if it did not indeed determine him in his final choice.[27] What he had heard and seen assuredly gave him a clearer understanding of the forces that were shaping political and religious thought, and at the same time made him keenly aware of the practical danger that faced the English church in a too rapid breaking down of central authority. Naturally, it tended to increase his conservatism as actual contact with revolution usually does; but it also tempered that conservatism with a wholesome respect for the power of a popular desire when it is welded into a definite appeal for a voice in government whether political or ecclesiastical. This may help to explain the apparent paradox of his later political position in Massachusetts: the anomaly of his popularity with the democratic element of the colony in their fight for self government.

May we not venture to surmise, too, that it engendered in him a feeling of personal isolation? May there not have developed in his naturally introspective mind a feeling that the breadth of vision that

had come to him must inevitably set him apart with the minority who were looking beyond the confusion of the moment, seeing the forest as well as the trees, but unable to over-ride the opportunist and the demagogue whose petty distinctions and demands were clouding the essential issues? It is a suggestion that will help to explain many seeming inconsistencies in the pages of his life that are still to come.

Notes on Chapter II

1 Simple Cobler 4ed. p. 5.

2 Wodderspoon, Mem. of Ipswich p. 176.

3 Ibid p. 76.

4 Ibid p. 199.

5 Ibid p. 204.

6 Unless otherwise noted the information concerning the Eastland Company is based on: The Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company, Camden Pub. 3d Series Vol. XI.

7 Wealth of Nations, Bk. V, Ch. I, p. 222 (Everyman Ed.)

8 Three thousand Dutch ships went to Prussian and north European ports to one hundred English ships; of these hundred most went to Elbing, Konigsberg, and Dantzig. Tipper, England's Attainment of Commercial Supremacy, p. 95.

9 Their rights were specifically preserved and defined when James I organized The King's Merchants of the New Trade. Select Charters of Trading Companies, Selden Pub. vol. 28, p. 97.

10 In Genealogical Gleanings in England p. 175, Waters records a bequest in 1645 by John Cutler of Ipswich to the sons of Rev. Samuel Ward and also to his cousin Thomas Cutler, Secretary to the Company of Eastland Merchants resident in Ipswich.

11 Ward's son-in-law, Giles Firmin, in his Real Christian (1670) p. 60, tells of "one nearly related to me, was minister to a Company of English merchants in Prussia." In the margin are the words, "Almost sixty years since." Later in the passage he refers

to the same person as "my neare friend". That the person referred to was Nathaniel Ward is supported by the fact that an anecdote which Firmin relates in his reply to Mr. Cadrey (p.12), of "a neare friend of mine", he gives in a later book, the Real Christian (p. 229), of "my Father Ward." Dean p. 28 note 1. Mather in his Magnalia Bk. III, ch. xxxi, sec. 1, states that Ward accompanied "certain merchants into Denmark and Prussia."

12 Cal. State Papers, Dom. James I, March 19, 1622.

13 Encyc. Brit. Elbing.

14 Wodderspoon, Mem. of Ipswich, p. 372.

15 Jethro's Justice of Peace.

16 Letter of Sir. Geo. Carew to Sir. Thos. Roe, Cal. State Papers, vol. 9, p. 427. Also, Letters of George, Lord Carew, p. 63.

17 Simple Cobler 4th ed. p. 48.

18 Ibid p. 42.

19 Ibid p. 42.

20 Ibid p. 64.

21 Ibid p. 26.

22 Firmin's Separations Examined p. 86. Cited by Dean p. 28.

23 Simple Cobler 4th ed. p. 5.

24 Ibid p. 16.

25 Ibid p. 42.

26 Venn.

27 Mather seems to suggest, in the passage from the Magnalia before referred to, that it was because of his discourse with Pareus, "from whom he received much direction", that he adopted the ministry as a profession.

Chapter III

THE RECTOR OF STONDON

1622-1634

The reign of James I was drawing to its close. During the four years that Ward had been away from England the struggle between the forces of popular government and the crown had crystallized. For the moment the authority of the King seemed to triumph. The Parliament of 1621 had met, crossed swords with their monarch, and been peremptorily dismissed, the King with his own hands tearing from the Journal of the House their protestation of Parliamentary rights. In the church, too, the Puritans were facing a more positive opposition, an opposition, however, that was rapidly welding "state" and"church" Puritans into one dominant party. With Archbishop Abbot, long a restraining force on the religious policies of James, in disfavor and retirement, the significant force in ecclesiastical circles was the rising power of Laud. Toleration and indulgence were bringing new hope to the Catholics, whose priests and Jesuit missionaries were coming into England in large numbers, openly celebrating the mass in the country districts, and even in London crowding their private meeting houses to the point of physical disaster.[1] From Windsor, August 10, 1622, James issued royal orders that struck directly at the power of the Puritan pulpit. Among the restrictions with which he sought to muzzle the dissenting clergy the most obnoxious were these: "That no preacher, under a bishop or dean, shall make a set discource, or fall into any commonplace of divinity

in his sermons, not comprehended in the Thirty-nine Articles. That no preacher, under a bishop or dean, presume to preach in any popular auditory on the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation; or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace. That no preacher, of any degree soever, shall henceforth presume in any auditory to declare, limit or set bounds to the prerogative, power or jurisdiction of sovereign princes, or meddle with matters of state."[2] Thus the very doctrines of Calvinism became an offense, punishable by suspension from office. Nor was the threat an idle one. A puritan minister, Mr. Knight, preaching at the University of Oxford, declared in his sermon that "subordinate magistrates might lawfully make use of force, and defend themselves, the commonwealth, and the true religion, in the field, against the chief magistrate, within the cases and conditions following: 1. When the chief magistrate turns tyrant. 2. When he forces his subjects upon blasphemy and idolatry. 3. When any intolerable burdens or pressures are laid upon them. 4. When resistance is the only expedient to secure their lives, their fortunes, and the liberty of their consciences."[3] Summoned to court and interrogated, he offered as authority for his words, Paraeus on Romans xiii, and the act of James himself in sending assistance to the Rochellers against their natural prince. This thrust at James' active antagonism to the protestant cause on the continent brought imprisonment to its author, and the commentaries of Paraeus were publicly burned at Oxford and London. Swiftly and surely the many political and religious differences rife in England were shaping themselves into a death struggle between the royal prerogative and the

parliamentary rights of the middle classes. This process on the face of it seems one of simplification of differences; actually it meant that attention was being focused on the immediately vital aspects of the struggle. The Puritan party in its religious aspects was never a unit, and in the hour of their victory their apparent unity crumbled into faction and discord.

But such in broad terms was the seeming trend of events that were writing their hieroglyphics on the wall when Ward returned to England. The interpretation of them could not fail to give the stoutest Puritan heart tremors of doubt. No Puritan minister could be blind to the struggle that was ahead, or of the dangers both spiritual and temporal that faced every member of the dissenting clergy. It must have been with some foreboding that Ward pursued the path he had at last determined on, and cast his lot irrevocably with the "painful" ministers of God.

We do not know whether he returned directly to Ipswich or landed at London. I think probably the former. He had undoubtedly left his family there with his brother. Moreover he must have had many personal affairs to settle while waiting for service in the church. His son John was admitted pensioner at Emmanuel on August 30, 1622.[4] Hence it is very likely that one of Ward's first tasks was to get his son safely settled in his old college. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that in September or October, he sold his house at Ipswich to Thomas Fones,[5] brother-in-law of John Winthrop. He may also have been at Bury about the same time, perhaps charged with the task of placing Forth Winthrop, the young son of John Winthrop, in the Grammar

School at Bury.[6] Ward was a distant relative of the Winthrops, although in just what degree is not clear. It may have been through John Winthrop's first wife Mary Forth, whose family was distantly related to the Wards of Suffolk, or perhaps through Winthrop's second wife Margaret Clopton whose family was connected with the Wards.[7] In any case the relation was a distant one. In later correspondence, Winthrop refers to both Ward and his son-in-law Firmin as "cosin", but the term meant little or nothing in the seventeenth century, being used, I suspect, much as the term "aunt" is to-day applied to any middle aged lady-friend of the family who is good to the children.

It would seem that Ward shortlywent to London, and that his first service in the church was that of lecturer at St. Michael's in Cornhill. Samuel Gorton in Simplicities Defence[8] states that Ward once held such a position. The records give only the names of the rectors, but other men are known to have officiated there in different capacities.[9] The position of lecturer, too, was a Puritan innovation and independent to a large extent of diocesan authority, the salary of the lecturer being usually met through voluntary contributions. It was about this time that Laud initiated efforts to curtail the influence of the lecturers by limiting their activities to catechising by question and answer. In very few cases are the lists of lecturers preserved. William Ashbold was rector of St. Michael's from 1590 until his death in 1622.[10] He was a graduate of Magdalene College and a fellow of Peterhouse. His successor, George Carew, was also a Cambridge man.[11] He was from Suffolk, and hence may have been acquainted with Ward. It may be that he was instrumental in the appointment of the latter to

the place of lecturer, although there is no positive ground for such an assumption. It does seem significant, however, that there was a change of rectors at just the time Ward would have been most likely to have become associated with the church. There is no evidence to contradict Gorton's statement, and in the absence of such evidence it seems safe to assume that he was correct, especially as Ward himself, while denying certain statements of Gorton's in this same passage, does not deny this particular one.[12] We assume that Ward remained at St. Michael's until about the time of his removal to Stondon Massey in 1626. There was another change of rectors at St. Michael's early in 1625 on the death of Carew. The new incumbent was William Brough.[13]

That the new rector was not wholly unresponsible for Ward's departure becomes something more than a mere guess when we learn that he was a staunch supporter of Laud and his Arminian views; that he later became a royal chaplain and Dean of Gloucester; and that with the beginning of the civil wars he fled to the King at Oxford.[14] There can have been little sympathy, to say the least, between the two men. It is not surprising that Ward's induction to the rectorship of Stondon took place within a year after the change of rectors at St. Michael's. Although the exact date is not known, it must have been before March 29, 1626, when the payment of his First Fruits tithes is recorded.[15]

Although we have no direct knowledge of Ward's personal life during this London period, by inference it would seem that the birth of one, if not two, of his children fell within these years. Besides the two sons, John andSamuel, already mentioned, Ward had at least two other children,[16] a daughter Susan (or Susanna), and a son James, who

appears to have been the youngest of the family. No record of the birth of either of these children is to be found. Winthrop in his Journal[17] speaks of James as being about twenty years old in 1644. This would mean that he was born about 1624. Susan was married to Giles Firmin sometime before December 26, 1639.[18] She therefore could hardly have been younger than James. Since there is no record of her birth in the parish records of St. Nicholas, Ipswich, it would seem that she was born either before 1615, when the birth of Samuel is recorded, or after the return of her father from abroad. In the latter case the date would probably be 1622 or 1623. Giles Firmin was born about 1615,[19] but there is nothing to show whether his wife was younger or older than he.

One episode in Ward's life recorded by his son-in-law might seem to relate to a time between his departure from St. Michael's and his residence at Stondon. This refers to a visit to Bishop Usher at Wicken in Essex. "I remember my Father-in-law told me that Bishop Usher, having once an Ague, and being in Essex when Mr. Thomas Hooker preached, it so fell out that my Father-in-law went to visit him a little before his fit should come, they both lying on the bed discoursing, I wish, said the Bishop, that Mr. Hooker were here to preach the law home to my Conscience: that fit they talked away; he missed it."[20] Usher was in England from 1624-1626, preaching part of the time at Wicken, where, in order that all might have an opportunity to hear him, he preached week-days as well as Sunday, often overtaxing his strength and bringing on the illness referred to. While he was at Wicken he was the guest of Mathew Bradbury at Wicken Hall; it was

probably there that the episode took place. By November 1625, Usher was engaged in a famous disputation with Rockwood, the Catholic chaplain of Lord Mordaunt, and had left Essex. It is possible that Ward was already at Stondon, although this seems doubtful.[21]

Stondon Massey is a small village some twenty-four miles northeast of London. It is situated on high, stony ground from which fact its Saxon name is derived. The second part of the name is a corruption of the latinized form of the English name Mark, the patronymic of the local land holder in Norman times. The patron of the living in 1626 was Sir Nathaniel Rich, the lord of Stondon Manor, and it was probably upon his gift that Ward came to Stondon. Rich was born about 1585.[22] His residence at Stondon dates from 1617. He was a Merchant Adventurer of London, connected with both the Bermuda and the Virginia Companies. He was a man of some influence and mark. At Gray's Inn, which he entered in 1609/10, he was educated for the law, his legal training fitting him for his parliamentary service. He sat in three parliaments, representing Totnes in 1614, East Retford in 1621, and Harwich in 1627. The struggle within the church also absorbed much of his energy and interest. He was a staunch Puritan, the friend of Pym and Vane, and took a lively and active interest in the Puritan migrations to New England. Doubtless Stondon Hall was frequently the meeting place of the local Puritan leaders, and before its wide fireplace the two Nathaniels, Squire and Rector, must often have talked long and earnestly of the religious and political problems of the hour. Ward's own legal training and his continental travels doubtless created many points of personal contact and sympathy between himself and his

patron. It is even possible that they may have been previously acquainted during their student days at the Innes of Court.

Ward's life at Stondon was the busy and varied one of a small parish priest. Although there is much to suggest that he was not of a temperament that especially fitted him for such work, he devoted himself to it, with an eye for the worldly as well as spiritual welfare of his parishoners. In 1628 we find him going surety for one William Hubbard, who in 1630 became church warden, for the due performance of the lease of a farm belonging to Emmanuel College.[23] By nature he was one who sought wider fields of interest, and throughout his incumbency at Stondon was actively occupied with affairs of more than local importance. On July 20, 1628, the death of John Preston, Master of Emmanuel College, made that office vacant. William Sancroft, who held at the time a living at Stanford-le-Hope in Essex, was immediately chosen by the fellows to succeed Preston, but his election was accompanied by some dissension. Ward and Sancroft were apparently close friends. They had been classmates at college, entering the same year. Before accepting the mastership, Sancroft sought from the fellows some interpretation of, or change in, the college statutes that would allow him to retain his living while serving as head of the college.[24] It was apparently while efforts were under way to bring about some suspension of the troublesome statute that Ward wrote the following letter to Sancroft. He is earnest in his friend's cause, but counsels him at all personal costs to accept the duty that has fallen to him.

Mr. Sancroft

I heare with griefe how the case stands with Emm: Coll: and of their intentions toward yourselfe; I understand also of your backwardness, had you been att home Mr. Hooker[25] and myselfe had been with you this day, att least myselfe, who am desirious to provoke others to good because I can doe so little myselfe. My earnest wish to you is that you would lay downe all fleshly pleas, all private and personal respects, melancholy and imodest objections and make all hast to give way to their motion. The kingdom of Satan finds instruments inough and seeks or crowds fast inough for advantage against Christ and the truth. It is meete that some who are able and called thereto should stepp forth and arme themselves with an holy forwardness to counterworke them and to relieve the tossing church. You have the votes of all that heare of it, and shall have their prayers with strength, all our feare is that delays will subvert this good worke. I pray therefore do not your last extremes but rather desire a good worke and offer yourselfe willingly. If you had pleased to have stept to Grenferfond yesterday you might have mett with incouragement enough and arguments pro and con. I meane as full a discussion and calculation of the cause as London can afford you. But I presume wherever you go you shall be abundently suited to the place. I could wish Sir Henry Mildmay[26] the Jeweler were well possessed of the matter, and requested to stand close friend to the College in promoting and serving their proceedings: I wish you also to honor Mr. Chaderton[27] what you may in consulting with him and in making of a prudent recognition of his former right. If

it comes to a contention or if the Kinge interposes I desire I may heare how in a word from you. I have some friends powerfull with his majesty and the Duke that shall trye their strength faithfully and freely in the coll[s] behalf, but I pray prevent all hazards with a speech dispatch of the business and yet so circumspect, I meane punctually according to the statute of the house that no error defeat what you have done. Thus in hast I comitt you and the cause to his guidence who is most able to worke his owne will and ends amongst the sonnes of men. I rest

Yours in any Christian service

Nath[l] Warde

Stondon July

I pray conceale my desires toward the cause and yourself from Mr. Hildersham,[28] if I may do least good office att any pinch Mr. Ball[29] and Mr. Bridge[30] know how to find me.[31]

The efforts of Ward and his friends however were unavailing, and no favorable interpretation or change in the statute was made, although Sancroft probably held his benefice.[32] The nine profitable years of his mastership, however, justified his friends' faith in him. It would be interesting to know to whom Ward referred when he writes of "friends powerfull with his majesty and the Duke", but one can only hazard the guess that it was some member of the Rich family.

Essex was a hot bed of religious unrest. The county gentry were strongly Puritan, and the extremes to which they went to support the Puritan party is reflected in the conduct of the parliamentary

election of 1627. One Edmund Nuttall writing from Colchester to the Duke of Buckingham's secretary, Edward Nicholas, says: "I heard this mornying that diverse rich menne, that be freehowders have sould for some twoe dayes, some three or ffower dayes, to poore menne that hathe no freehowd lands or copihowd at all, 40s. a yeare, some £5 a yeare, that they may come in and take their oaths yf thear should be opposition, that they are freehowders, and soe soone as this election is over, then to returne back again the sayd estates. This is done for the choyce of Sir Francis Barrington and Sir Harbottle Grymston."[33] These men were Puritans and both were successful in the elections.

In church affairs, also, feeling verged on the turbulent. One of the storm centers was Thomas Hooker, later to prove something of a thorn to the conservative party of the Massachusetts colony. Hooker was a fiery and convincing preacher whose influence spread even beyond the confines of the county. He settled at Chelmsford as lecturer about the time that Ward came to Stondon. So great was his zeal for reform that by the autumn of 1628 he had been forced to quit his ministry. He remained in Essex, however, "At the urgent request of several eminent persons", and conducted a school at Little Baddow. Had he confined his activities to the schoolroom there might have been no further trouble, but he continued to preach occasionally which caused him again to fall under the ban of bishop Laud. So great, however, was the feeling which that prelate had already stirred up in Essex, and so great was Hooker's own popularity that Samuel Collins, a friend of Laud's, wrote the bishop's chancellor on May 20, 1629, urging moderation on the grounds

of expediency. His letter shows clearly the chaotic condition in Essex. It reads in part: "Since my return from London I have spoken with Mr. Hooker, but I have small hope of prevailing with him. All the favor he desires is that my Lord of London would not bring him into the High Commission Court, but permit him quietly to depart out of the diocese. ...All men's eares are now filled with ye obstreprous clamours of his followers against my Lord. . . as a man endeavoring to suppress good preaching and advance Popery. All would be here very calme and quiet if he might quietly departe..... If these jealousies ... be increased by a rigorous proceeding against him, ye country may prove very dangerous. If he is suspended, ... it's the resolution of his friends and himself to settle his abode in Essex, and maintenance is promised him in plentifull manner for the fruition of his private conference, which hath already more impeached the peace of our church than his publique ministry. His genius will still haunte all the pulpits in ye country, where any of his scholars may be admitted to preach..... All regular and discrete men, especially that live in popular places, will be brought into that distast and contempt among their people by theere meanes as their burthen will become intolerable. There be divers young ministers about us, ... that ... spend their time ... in conference with him..... and returne home ... and preach ... what he hath brewed..... Our people's pallats grow so out of tast, yt noe food contents them but of Mr. Hooker's dressing. I have lived in Essex to see many changes, and have seene the people idolizing many new ministers and lecturers, but this man surpasses them all for learning and some other considerable partes, and ... gains more and far greater followers than all before him.

... I am persuaded if my Lord would permit him to departe without further question, so yt he would doe it cito et sine strepitu, our people would be soon weaned from him and gained to theere owne pastors againe; eadem opera, the country would be ridd of some turblent spirits that, under the cloke of conformity, doe much disturbe our peace..... My Lord ... will be careful who succeeds him. ... Its the ... greatest griefe of my soull to see how full of whirligiggs the heads of the people begin to growe ... if my Lord ... tender his owne future peace, ... let him connive at Mr. Hooker's departure. ... And now I humbly crave your silence, and that when your worship hath read my letter none may see it, for if that some in the world should have ye least inkling hereof, my creditt and fortune were utterly ruined...."[34] The extent to which Puritan doctrines had undermined the congregations is here clearly apparent. What reply Collins received we do not know, but he apparently went to Chelmsford to see Hooker in regard to the matter and failed to find him at home. He informs the chancellor of this fact in a letter dated the third of June, and again urges restraint and caution. "I pray God direct my Lord of London in thisweighty business. ... this will prove a leading case, and the issue thereof will either much incourage or else discourage the regular clergie. All men's heads, tongues, eyes, and ears are in London, and all the counties about London taken up with plotting, talking, and expecting what will be the conclusion of Mr. Hooker's business. ... It drowns the noise of the greate question of Tonnage and Poundage. I dare not say halfe of that I heare; paper walls are easily broken open. But hearing and knowing as much as I doe, I dare be bold to say that if he be once quietly gone, my Lord

hath overcame the greatest difficulty in governing this parte of his diocese. ... Let him be as cautelous as he will, yet in his present course the humour of our people will undoe him."[35] From the tone and urgency of Collin's letters it is clear that conditions in Essex were becoming alarming to the orthodox clergy. It is clear, too, that Collins at least, believed that the disturbance was due chiefly to the influence of a few men, that the consciences of the congregations were not deeply involved. In this he was probably wrong, but time was to justify his final warning to Laud.

Laud seems to have been influenced by the moderate counsel he received, for Hooker was merely bound over for his reappearance when called, a Mr. Nash of Much Waltham going surety for him in the sum of fifty pounds. Hooker, however, continued to preach a nd John Browning, Rector of Rawreth, wrote to Laud informing against him. News of this having got abroad, the clergy of the surrounding towns sent on November 10, 1629, a petition to Laud in Hooker's favor. The wording was as follows: "Whereas we have heard that your honour hath been informed against Mr. Thomas Hooker, preacher at Chelmsford, that the conformable ministers of these partes desire his removal from the place, we, whose names are hereunder written, being ministers in the partes adjoining, all beneficed men, and obedient to His Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, doe humbly give your lordship to understand that we all esteeme and knowe the said Mr. Thomas Hooker to be, for doctryne, orthodox, and life and conversation honest, and for his disposition peaceable, no wayes turbulent or factious, and so not doubting but he will contynue that good course, commending him and his lawfull

suite to your lordship's honourable favor, and entreating the continuance of his libertye and paines there, we humbly take our leave, and remaine your honour's humbly at command."[36]

Forty-nine names are appended to the petition, and the extent of Hooker's influence is seen not only in the number, but also in the fact that several names, among them Collins', belong to ministers who were not to be counted as adhering to the Puritan party. How much of expediency was represented by such signatures is a question. The third name from the last is that of Nathaniel Ward. It was to be expected that he would sign such a document, but what part, if any, he actually took in its preparation and circulation we do not know. The fact that his name is so near the end of the list would suggest, perhaps, that he was not one of the prime movers in the matter.

The following week another petition was sent up to Laud, bearing the signatures of several of the very ministers who had signed the Hooker petition, begging for the enforcement of even greater conformity.[37] Shortly after this Laud summoned Hooker to appear before him; but the Puritan divine, evidently fearing extreme measures, or upon the advice of his friends, forfeited his surety and fled to Holland. The popular unrest during these years of controversy and schism must have amounted almost to disorder. The congregations were getting more and more out of control, and the more radical of the Puritan clergy did little to abate the rising temper of their charges. What must have been the lot of a moderate who desired peace even at the price of composition is seen in a letter from Collins to Duck in 1631 when he himself has been charged with nonconformity. 'My lord's displeasure

pierces deepe with me. The complainte which hath provoked him I willingly and wittingly occasioned, to reformt he error of sundry in my towne which would not be persuaded but that it still lay in me to procure them a toleration of their wonted unconformity, which I laboured to draw them from. ... It is no easy matter to reduce a numerous congregation into order that hath been disorderly these fifty yeares, and that, for seven yeares last past, hath been encouraged in that way by the refractory ministers in the county, with whom they have had acquaintance in their private meetings and conferences,who have left divers schismatical books among them, and during their continuance here laboured to make my person and ministry contemptible and odious, because I would not hold conversation with them. If I had suddenly and hastely fallen upon the whole parte of uniformity, I had undone myselfe. ... For, upon the first notice of alteration, many were resolving to goe to New England, and others to remove elsewhere, by whose departure the burden of the poor, and the charges of the towne, had grown insupportable to those that stayed behind. By my moderate and slow proceedings I have made the stay of some, and do hope to settle their abode with us. ... My lord of London needes not to implore the power of the High Commission to rule me: the least finger of his owne hand shall suffice. If what I have sayd and done will not satisfy, I must submitt to his honour's censure. ... It makes me add a new prayer to my litany, 'From this people, good Lord deliver me!'"[38] One can sympathize, I think, with the closing lines at least. The position of the orthodox clergy was a perpetual dilemma caught as they were between the two millstones of their parishioners' demands, and the

uncompromising authority of Laud. They were in imminent danger of losing either their congregations or their livings.

As the above letter shows, the persecutions of Laud were turning the eyes of an increasing number toward the New England across the Atlantic, to which the Mayflower had opened the gate a decade before.

The Massachusetts Bay Company had been chartered March 18, 1628. From the first, Ward was probably an interested observer of its progress, if he did not actually take part in the councils of its promoters, for among them was his friend and kinsman John Winthrop. Early in the records of the colony[39] we find him considered for membership, but apparently he was not yet ready to emigrate. However, he was actively interested in the project and worked for its success, apparently journeying to London to confer with Winthrop, as is shown in the following letter written January 16, 1629/30.

To the Worshipfull & his much respected ffriend,
Mr. Winthrope, Governour of the New-English
Company, att Mr. Porters in Soaper Lane
In his absence to Mr. Johnson.

Sir, - I purpose to see you nexte weeke att London, if God permitt. In the meane tyme I intreate yow to reserve rooms & passage in your shipps for 2 families, a carpenter & bricklayer, most faithfull & dilligent workmen in all our parts; one of them hath putt of a good farme this weeke, & sold all, & should be much dammaged & discouraged if he finds no place amongst yow. He transports himselfe att his owne charge. There is a paire of

sawyers also especially laborious; all of them will come to yow upon monday or tuesday. I pray lett them discerne your harty desire of their company. And so I comitt you to God.

Yours in all Christain affection

Nath[l] Warde[40]

Stondon, Jan. 16

This letter indicates that Ward himself was beginning to feel his own position uncertain, for otherwise he would not, in the nature of things, have aided the departure of the better element of his congregation. Had he felt himself secure he would doubtless have done all in his power to keep about him such of his parish as were in sympathy with him. If he foresaw his danger, he had not long to wait for its advent.

In the meantime he was busy with affairs in his parish. The pulpit and reading desk in the church bear the date 1630 and were installed during Ward's incumbency.[41] It is very probable that they were erected upon an order from Bishop Laud, but if so they indicate a more than perfunctory carrying out of the order by the rector. They are ornately carved. The reading desk bears the text of one of his brother Samuel's famous sermons: "Christ is All in All." In that sermon the speaker refers to Christ as the bread and wine of the believer; this idea is reflected in the corn and grapes that are symbolically expressed in the carving. The pulpit bears the text: "2 Tim. iv. 1-2" The Pauline epistles seem to have been favorites with Ward. The text referred to reads: "I charge thee therefore

before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom; Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine." The passage must have had a personal application in the mind of the rector. The pulpit and the reading desk are the only reflection in the Stondon church of Ward's personality. If these were intended in any way to placate his bishop, however, they failed.

On December 13, 1630 he was haled, or in the pleasant phrasing of the day, "presented" before Dr. Robert Aylett, surrogate, and Robert Cooke, public notary, "for not wearing a surplice in Church for the two last years past, and for that prayers were not constantly read in Church on Wednesdaies, Fridaies, and Holydaies."[42] No immediate action apparently followed this charge, or he may have escaped with an admonition, but in exactly a year, lacking a day, he was "presented" again, for on December 13, 1631, he wrote the following letter to his friend John Cotton.

Reverend and dear friend,

I was yesterday convented before the bishop, I mean to his court, and am adjourned to the next term. I see such giants turn their backs, that I dare not trust my owne weak heart. I expect measure hard enough and must furnish apace with proportionable armour. I lacke a friend to help buckle it on. I know none but Christ himself in all our coast fitt to help me, and my acquaintance with him is hardly enough to hope for that assistance my weak spirit will want, and the assaults of tentation call for. I pray therefore forget me

not and believe for me also if there be such a piece of neighbourhood among Christians. And so blessing God with my whole heart for my knowledge of you and immerited interest in you, and thanking you entirely for that faithful love I have found from you in many expressions of the best nature, I commit you to the unchangeable love of God our Father in his son Jesus Christ, in whom I hope to rest for ever,

Your's in all truth of heart

Nath[l] Warde [43]

Stondon Mercy, Dec. 13, 1631

This letter is illuminating in many ways. We hear again that note of isolation, it is more than an expression of physical loneliness or abandonment by the "giants" who turn their backs. It suggests strongly the introverted and self-centered mind. "I know none but Christ himself in all our coast fitt to help me." This certainly would indicate a doubt as to the "fittness" of his friends rather than a lack of their corporeal existence, while the phrasing of the passage referring to his acquaintance with his Saviour would seem more at home in a letter of Mistress Anne Hutchinson than in an epistle of one who was later to be numbered among her persecutors. The letter is also the first indication of the friendship between Ward and Cotton. This friendship seems never to have resulted in close personal intimacy between the two men. In fact a difference in ideas seems to have often separated them rather widely, yet Ward always regarded Cotton with an almost humble veneration, an attitude that he seems never to have taken toward any other man. Finally one cannot help but wonder if

the first part of the letter is not a reflection on what he might regard as desertion by Thomas Hooker.

Within a month of the writing of this letter he appeared before Laud at Braintree in Essex. An account of the bishop's activities on this occasion is preserved in a letter of Henry Jacie's to John Winthrop Jr. dated January 9, 1631/2. This visit of the prelate's to Essex was to enrich New England in more ways than one. At Keldon, where he held court before he came to Braintree, Thomas Weld was excommunicated, Nathaniel Rogers suspended, and Thomas Shepard ordered to leave the diocese. All of these men soon found their way to Massachusetts. At the same time Laud refused to admit Ward's old friend William Bridge as lecturer of Colchester where he was greatly desired. Jacie's account of Ward's examination is as follows: "Mr Nat. Ward being called whose silencing was expected, and charged with rejecting the ceremonies and common prayer, he answered (as 'tis said), There is one thing I confess, I stick at how I may say for any man that die, in sure and certain hope, or that we with our brother, &c. Upon this the bishop to resolve him, made a large explication, and so he escaped."[44]

The two passages from the burial service to which Ward took exception had long been objected to on the part of the Puritan ministers. They represented questions on which many were doubtful. Ward showed his lawyer's shrewdness in focussing his rejection on the ceremonies and the common prayer book on points that involved only conventional partisam differences. But although for the moment he escaped with a "large explication" to which, I fancy Ward listened with some inward amusement, his ultimate removal was inevitable. Laud showed throughout

his activities in Essex a moderation that was even more irritating to the Puritan ministers involved than would have been precipitant haste. He constantly refuesed to be hurried into what might resemble arbitrary action, insisting on admonition followed in due season by the regular steps of suspension, excommunication, and deprivation, at seemly intervals.[45] But although this procedure left no deprived minister a chance to say that he had not had ample opportunity to conform, all knew that the bishop's slowness sprang from a knowledge that his ends were certain of attainment. He counted a s much upon the obdurateness of the men with whom he dealt as upon the ecclesiastical authority which was his.

On September 27, 1632, Ward again faced his bishop and was suspended. To the charge of nonconformity, he urged the words of Saint Paul, "He would not offend his weak brother," to which Laud replied, "Yea, Paul said so when he was alone, but do you think Paul would have said so, if he had been in a Convocation?"[46] Did an ironical smile from Stondon's rector pay tribute to his bishop's answer? Ward's own tinge of cynicism would certainly have appreciated the shrewdness of the reply. On October 30th Ward was excommunicated for nonobedience to the canons, and on December 16th he was deprived of his living.[47] Laud in his report to the King for 1633 sums up the conclusion of the affair thus: "Having heretofore proceeded against Nathaniel Ward, parson of Stondon in Essex to excommunication and deprivation for refusing to subscribe to the Articles established by the Canon of the Church (of which I certified last year) I have now left him under the sentence of excommunication."[48] In spite of

excommunication, Ward may have remained at Stondon for a time, for in the visitation of April 29, 1633, his name appears as rector in the Archdeacon's Books, although the entry bears indication of being a tentative one.[49] On August 8th the vacancy was filled by the institution of Anthony Sawbridge as rector.[50] He came from Hadleigh in the same county, his old place being filled shortly by John Ward, the son of Nathaniel who had graduated from Emmanuel in 1626/27. As both livings were in the gift of members of the Rich family, it is possible that something in the nature of an exchange had been arranged.

Writing in The Simple Cobler, probably in 1645, Ward tells us that he has been a widower nearly twelve years.[51] This would indicate that sometime in 1633 or 1634 Elizabeth Ward died. There is no record of her death to be found, nor do we know the cause of her death. Her husband makes no mention of her in any of his books or letters. How deeply her death affected him, whether it played any part in shaping his determination to leave England, we cannot know. The exact circumstances of his departure are uncertain. Probably in April, 1634,[52] he boarded ship at Ipswich with his daughter Susan and his ten year old son James. Once more he watched the shores of England fade into the horizon, but any regrets he may have felt must have been tempered by the thought that the wilderness to which he was going already sheltered many of his closest friends.

Notes to Chapter III

1 Neal, History of the Puritans i:271, tells of a meeting of Catholics at Blackfriars Nov. 5, 1622, which so crowded the building that the floors gave way, resulting in the death of the preacher and ninety-three of the congregation.

2 Ibid p.272.

3 Ibid.

4 Venn.

5 Winthrop Papers i:274. Forth Winthrop writing apparently in Sept. or Oct., 1622, to his brother John, says in a postscript: "My uncle Fones is about removing but he is not yet settled there. He hath gotten him a place at Ipswich a hous wher Mr. Ward dwelt in." This may or may not refer to Nathaniel.

6 Ibid p. 280. A later letter of Forth Winthrop's to his brother, explaining what form he is in at the Bury school says: "...when as I came first Mr. Ward did putt mee to my choice whether I would be of Jermin Wrights or the other now Jermins classe was so forward in Greke grammer as I cold verry hardly have overtaken them so I wold be of the louer forme."

7 See Dean's Mem. of Ward. p. 49.

8 Gorton's Simplicities Defence p. 53.

9 Calamy's Life of Baxter p. 200, (Mr. Philip Nye) "was in orders and officiating (tho 'tis uncertain in what capacity) at St. Michael's in Cornhill am. 1630."

10 Hennessy's Nov. Rep. Ecc. Lond. p. 332. Venn gives the dates 1587-1622 and states that he also held the rectorship of St. Peter's in Cornhill from 1575-1622.

11 Venn.

12 Winslow's Hypocrasie Unmasked pp. 76-7. Cited by Dean p. 33.

13 Hennessy, Nov. Rep. Ecc. Lond. p.332.

14 Venn; D.N.B.

15 Mss. Calendar of First Fruits Composition Books, Public Rec. Office, London. (original entry p. 80A).

16 There may have been another daughter. Both Davids and Felt in speaking of Susan's marriage to Firmin use the phrase, "one of his daughters"; this would imply that there was at least one other. There is no record of another, and Candler does not record another in his pedigree.

17 Winthrop's Journal ii:102.

18 Hutchinson Papers pp. 108-9. A letter from Firmin to Winthrop dated Dec. 26, 1639, speaks of "my father in law Ward."

19 Dean's Memoir of Rev. Giles Firmin p. 5.

20 Firmin's Real Christian p. 51.

21 Dean's Memoir of Ward, p. 41 and note.

22 The information about Rich is largely drawn from the account of him in Reeve's Hist. of Stondon Massey; Dean's Mem. of Ward; D.N.B.

23 Reeve's Hist. of Stondon Massey p. 71.

24 Shuckburgh's Emmanuel College p. 74.

25 This was Thomas Hooker, who later came to Massachusetts and was first pastor of the church at Newtown (Cambridge.) He removed to Hartford, Conn. in 1636.

26 Sir Henry Mildmay was the grandson of the founder of Emmanuel.

Throughout his life he maintained a close interest in the welfare of the college.

27 Laurence Chaderton, the first master of the college (ante p.11). He had resigned the mastership in 1622. He died Nov. 13, 1640.

28 Samuel Hildersham (1594?-1674) was one of the fellows of the college. In 1628 he became rector of West Felton. He was a member of the Assembly of Divines. (Venn.)

29 Thomas Ball (1590-1659) came over to Emmanuel from Queens when Preston was made master of the former college. He became a fellow, and seems to have been a particular protege of Preston's. He was a popular and distinguished preacher. (Venn.)

30 William Bridge (1600?-1670) was at this time a fellow. In 1636 he became rector of St. Peter's, Hungate, Norwich, where he was silenced and later excommunicated by Bishop Wren. He went to Holland succeeding Hugh Peters as pastor at Rotterdam. He returned to England in 1642, frequently preaching before the Long Parliament. He seems to have belonged to the independent wing of the party. (Venn.)

31 Mss. letter in the Harlian Mss. Brit. Museum.

32 Shuckburgh's Emmanuel College p. 74.

33 Davids, Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex, p. 140.

34 Ibid p. 150.

35 Ibid p. 151.

36 Ibid p. 153.

37 Ibid p. 158.

38 Ibid p. 169.

39 Mass. Col. Records i:63.

40 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th vii:23.

41 Reeve's Hist. Stondon Massey p. 74.

42 Records in Registry of Bishop of London at St. Pauls, cited by Reeve p. 71.

43 Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. i:120.

44 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3d i:120.

45 Ibid p. 236: "There he excommunicated Mr. Weld, who had been suspended above a month; and requiring Mr. Rogers of Dedham to subscribe there, (no law nor canon so requires, I take it,) he refused. He told how he had borne with him and showed how he must needs suspend him and so proceed if he reformed not, to do all according to canon -- after a month to excommunicate him, and then after a month to deprive him of the ministry. ... Mr. Rogers said, if he would rather now put him by for altogether. He said, no, he would proceed according to law."

46 Firmin's Presbyterial Ordination Vindicated p.38.

47 Bishops' Book, St. Pauls, cited by Reeve p.72.

48 Laud's Works, v, pt. ii, p. 318.

49 Reeve's Hist. Stondon Massey, p. 72.

50 Newcourt's Rep. ii:545.

51 Simple Cobler p. 27.

52 The year of his arrival, 1634, is well established. It is given as such by several early writers, among them Johnson, Wonder Working Providence p. 66. The statement that he shipped in April and arrived in June seems to rest on a statement by Joseph G. Cogswell in an article on Ward in the Monthly Anthology for May, 1809.

He could not remember his authority when asked for it by Dean in 1865. From Winthrop's Journal we learn that fourteen ships arrived in Boston and Salem in June of that year. Two of these, the Francis and the Elizabeth, left Ipswich in April. The passenger lists of both have been preserved, and neither contains the name of Ward or of Robert Potter who is known to have come on the same ship with him. (The above is a summary of the material given by Dean, pp. 44-5). This negative evidence does not seem conclusive. There were doubtless other ships from Ipswich in that month, and Ward may have come on one of them.

Chapter IV

THE AMERICAN DIVINE

1634-1636

And now, before Ward's ship picks up the gray shoulder of Cape Anne upon the western horizon, we must look briefly at the conditions in the colony upon his arrival. It is not easy to see clearly the relationship between the various forces that were shaping the destinies of New England. The forces themselves are clearly apparent but so closely are they interwoven that it is all but impossible to say with sureness where cause and effect lie. Ward was arriving on the flood tide of immigration that followed Winthrop to New England. The four years that had elapsed since the latter's arrival had seen four thousand people pouring into the towns of the Bay Colony.[1] In the turmoil of such rapid growth, political, economic, and religious forces became so fused that any one of the three may seem to the student the dominating factor. The bias with which the problem is approached is often the unconscious dictator of the conclusion. It is not necessary to attempt a solution of the problem in these pages; but since Ward's course during the twelve years of his residence here seems largely to have been shaped by the conditions of his environment, certain facts must be examined. This is especially necessary since his activities touched upon all three phases of colonial existence.

It is customary to speak of the Massachusetts Colony as a theocracy in its early days; to say that it was priest founded and

priest governed. This is essentially untrue, yet there is reason enough for its apparent validity. For the previous hundred years, the minds of Englishmen were being accustomed to the idea of parliamentary control of church affairs. In 1534 it was Parliament who abolished allegiance to Clement and vested their own sovereign with ecclesiastical supremacy. The persecutions under Mary carried the sanction of Parliament. Elizabeth in her turn received her power over the Church specifically from the hands of her Parliament. The Stuarts with their theories of the royal prerogative and the divine right of succession fell directly foul of this now well established idea. The result of their opposition was the fusion of the state and church Puritans into one party. With the coming of James I the Presbyterian form of church organization also took root in England.

One other factor in the religious situation must be particularly noted. This is the development of the Separatist or Independent Church. The first church organization of this type was probably either the "Privy Church" of Richard Fitz in London at least as early as 1571, of the "Plumbers" Hall congregation which met in 1567.[2] This movement later came to be known as Brownist or Separatist. The colony at Plymouth was made up of such a congregation. With the Separatist idea, however, a large majority of the Puritans were out of sympathy if they were not aggressively opposed to it. In general they sought only reform within the existing church. Some leaned toward the Presbyterian form of church government as offering the practical solution; others, and probably Ward belonged to this group, would have been content to keep the Episcopal order if simplification of ceremonies

and a curtailing of Episcopal power could be brought about. Whatever might be the shades of belief among the Puritans who formed the migration to New England, there were few if any who anticipated a complete break from the mother church. The ministers among them had received their ordination from the Church of England, and few would have denied the validity of their orders.

The leaders of the Massachusetts Colony were faced at the very outset by a religious impasse. Nearly all of the chief ministers among them had been excommunicated from the Church of England, and any church set up in the new world could hardly hope for ecclesiastical sanction from Lambeth, even if it had been desired. Yet the only established church in New England was the Separatist congregation at Plymouth. It is clear that no decision as to church policy was made before Winthrop and his colonists left England. The problem had already been faced and met, however, by the smaller group that Endicott had gathered at Salem. Here in 1629 the first church was established. A letter from Charles Gott of Salem to Governor Bradford at Plymouth, and preserved by him in his History, describes the ceremony in some detail. The letter is dated July 30, 1629; it reads in part: "...notwithstanding all opposition that hath been hear, and else wher, it hath pleased God to lay a foundation, the which I hope is agreeable to his word in everything. The .20. of July, it pleased the Lord to move the hart of our Governor to set it apart for a sollemne day of humilliation for the choyce of a pastor and teacher. The former parte of the day being spente in praier and teaching, the later parte aboute the election, which was after this maner. The persons thought on (who had been min-

isters in England) were demanded concerning their callings; they acknowledged ther was a twofould calling, the one an inward calling, when the Lord moved the harte of a man to take that calling upon him, and fitted him with guiftes for the same; the second was an outward calling, which was from the people, when a company of beleevers are joyned togither in covenante, to walke togither in all the ways of God, and every member (being men) are to have a free choyce of their officers, etc. Now, we being perswaded that these .2. men were so qualified, ... we saw noe reason but we might freely give our voyces for their election, after this triall. So Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor, and Mr. Higginson to be teacher; and they accepting the choyce, Mr. Higginson, with .3 or .4 of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayer therwith. This being done, ther was imposission of hands on Mr. Higginson also. And since that time, Thursday (being, as I take it, the .6 of August) is appoynted for another day of humiliation for the choyce of elders and deacons, and ordaining of them."[3] The setting up of the Salem church is of first importance, for it became, in spite of opposition, the model for the later churches in the colony. Two things are to be particularly noted. In accepting ordination by the laying on of hands, Skelton and Higginson broke completely with the fundamental conception of episcopal succession as held by the established church. At that time only the Separatists and the Anabaptists had gone so far. Yet it is clear that a union with these sects was not considered by the Salem colonists; at least not by Higginson who said to his fellow passengers on his voyage from England: "We do not go to New England

as separatists from the church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it, but we go to practice the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America.[4]

Not all at Salem were ready for so drastic a step; and two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, gathering a few others about them attempted to read the service of the Church of England. For this act and their refusal to accept the new order, Endicott sent them back to England.[5] The leaders of the Company in London viewed these events with alarm, fearing the wrath of the King and his Council. That such hasty action might jeopardize the Company's plan of colonization was obvious. They wrote to Endicott censuring the course that the settlers at Salem had adopted, and warning them against "undigested councells."[6] Yet, although clearly dissatisfied that the settlers had so completely broken from the established church, Winthrop and the other leaders offered no specific suggestions as to what they would consider a proper course to pursue. The action of the settlers was, however, the only practical one under the circumstances. This Winthrop and his fellow leaders tacitly admitted when, a year later, they founded the church at Boston. They ordained John Wilson teacher, and Winthrop himself says of the service: "We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."[7] The protestation amounted to little more, however, than an expression of reluctance to accept what was inevitable. Whatever interpretation might be given to the imposition of hands, the church at Boston was as completely a "separated" church as the one at Salem, or the churches that were

later gathered at other settlements. Circumstance and necessity dictated the church policy of the colonists, and it was with hesitancy and doubt that they proceeded. "Those that came over soon after Mr. Endicott, namely Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, Anno 1629, walked something in an untrodden path; therefore it is the less to be wondered at, if they went but in and out, in some things complying too much, in some things too little, with those of the Separation, and it may be in some things not sufficiently attending to the order of the Gospel, as themselves thought they understood afterwards. For in the beginning of things they only accepted of one another, according to some general profession of the doctrine of the Gospel, and the honest and good intentions they had one towards another, and so by some kind of covenant soon moulded themselves into a church in every Plantation, where they took up their abode, until Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker came over, which was in the year 1633, who did clear up the order and method of church government, according as they apprehended was most consonant to the Word of God. And such was the authority they (especially Mr. Cotton) had in the hearts of the people, that whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an Order of Court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment. After that time the administration of all ecclesiastical matters was tied up more strictly than before to the rules of that which is since owned for the Congregational Way. ... Which indeed is as a middle way between that which is called Brownisn, and the Presbyterial government."[8] It is apparent that the affairs of the church were but drifting until the strong personal leadership of Cotton and Hooker could make itself felt.

Both of these men arrived on the Griffin, which reached Boston September 4, 1633. It was with difficulty that they had boarded ship in England, for warrants were out to take them before the court of High Commission. On the tenth of the following month Cotton was chosen teacher of the church at Boston (Wilson having previously been made pastor) and ordained "by imposition of the hands of the presbytery."[9] On the following day Hooker was elected pastor of the church at Newtown, and ordained in like manner. Neither made any qualification to their ordinations or election. The church had found its leaders, but they were destined to be leaders in strife and not peace. The seeds of doctrinal dissension were being sown, and during their harvesting the question of church government for a moment was allowed to rest. Such, briefly, was the ecclesiastical situation in the colony when Ward arrived. Of political and economic problems we shall have occasion to speak later when we come to a discussion of Ward's activities after laying aside his ministry.

If Ward landed at Boston, it is natural to imagine that he was at first the guest of his kinsman John Winthrop, and that it was at his hospitable table that Ward first broke bread in the new land. Perhaps, even, we may imagine that about the candle lighted table were gathered John Cotton and Thomas Hooker to make welcome their old friend and colleague. And after reminiscences had been exchanged conversation doubtless turned to affairs of the colony, of the stormy general court the month previous that had deprived Winthrop of his office and raised his rival Thomas Dudley to the governorship; especially, perhaps, they talked of the new plantation at Agawam where

John Winthrop the younger had a year before made a settlement, to which Ward was shortly to be called as minister. With deep interest, and some misgivings, he must have questioned his old friends concerning the organization of the new churches. He had had a taste of Congregationalism in the low countries, and we know his reaction to it.

And so as the weeks slipped by, he attempted to fit himself into his new environment. As he walked about the streets of the rapidly growing town, he must have been keenly aware of the newness of it all. Not a building about him had weathered the winters of a decade; the houses had been quickly and roughly erected and were overflowing with the ever increasing flood of newcomers waiting only the action of the magistrates before departing to the outlying plantations where farms were allotted them. Traveled as he was, accustomed to the culture of foreign courts and embassies, the rawness of this frontier settlement with the untried forest so close at hand must have seemed unstable and forbidding. What opportunity could lie here for his legally trained and scholarly mind? What service to God might he render in such a wilderness? There was little of the missionary or pioneer in the make up of Nathaniel Ward. Did he wince as he sought to accustom himself to his new surroundings, to accept as permanent this New England so different from the old?

He did not long remain idle, for shortly after his arrival he was called to the pastorate of the newly gathered church at Agawam. It is not known exactly when he settled there. From a letter of the elder Winthrop[10] we know that he was there by December, 1634, and the wording would suggest that he had been there for some

time. John Winthrop, Jr. was in Boston June 3, 1634,[11] and it is not unlikely that Ward accompanied the young leader on his return home, which must have been before July 20th.[12] At the time of Ward's arrival Thomas Parker was preaching at Agawam.[13] He was chosen teacher upon the election of the new pastor. On August 5th the name of the town was changed, by order of the General Court, to Ipswich.[14]

The scene of Ward's labour was one of the newer settlements. It had been founded in March of the previous year by the younger Winthrop.[15] There had been a few settlers previously, in 1630, but they had been called away by order of the General Court.[16] The town had grown rapidly, however, for by October, 1633, it was large enough to be assessed a tax of eight pounds on the occasion of the fortifying of Boston.[17] When Parker went there in May, 1634, he took with him some hundred new settlers.[18] But, full of life as the little town doubtless was, it must have presented a sharp contrast to the snug little English village that Ward had left. The hastily constructed houses were little more than cabins, many of them doubtless of logs; few had glass at the windows. Even the frame houses were at first rudely built, with heavy thatched roofs and huge wooden chimneys daubed with clay.[19] Soon, however, it was to become the second town in the colony in point of size; and to it in the next year, due partly to Ward's presence there, were to come men whose names stand indelibly written in the records of history, such names as Dudley, Bradstreet, Saltonstall, Rogers and Norton.

Early in the autumn of 1634 the younger Mrs. Winthrop and

her baby daughter died. This sudden bereavement caused the governor's son temporarily to sever his connection with Ipswich. He sailed for London soon after the sixth of October.[20] In the house so sadly left vacant, Nathaniel Ward spent the ensuing winter.[21] This house, of which no trace remains, probably stood on the southerly slope of the Town Hill on the north side of what is now East Street, between Short Street and the joining of East and Water Streets.[22] Some idea of the size of the house can be gained from an inventory of its contents made by William Clark while its young owner was in England.[23] It apparently was a small structure of four rooms, doubtless with wooden chimneys at either end. Here Ward found comfortable though not luxurious quarters during the winter. In the spring he probably set about the erection of his own house. It would seem that he was already occupying it when the above inventory was made, for one item records: "In M Wards hands 1 silv^{r} cupp 6 spoones 1 salt of silver." We assume that the parson was somewhat short of table silver. If Clark's record was made while the owner was still abroad it must have been drawn up before October 6, 1635, the date of Winthrop's return.[24] The exact site of Ward's own house is not known. It is said to have stood on the east side of the south green, near the present Colonel Wade house on South Main Street.[25] It would seem to have been of substantial character, for Cotton Mather speaks of it as existing in his own time, and that he had seen over the fireplace: "three words engraved, Sobrie, Juste, Pie, and a forth added which was Laete."[26] No transfer or sale of this house is recorded and it is not impossible that Ward resided in the house of his son-in-law Giles Firmin whose

house lot adjoined his. But wherever the house stood, few houses in the colony could offer more interesting associations, for in it, soberly, justly, piously, and gladly, was penned the Body of Liberties with its fine preamble, and in darker mood, perhaps, were written the stinging pages of The Simple Cobler.

During the winter of 1634/5 Ward seems to have devoted himself exclusively to his local duties, and to have taken no part in the general interests of the colony. It may be that the rigors of a New England winter affected his health. The winter seems to have been a severe one, for Winthrop records that on December 4, there "Was an extraordinary tempest of wind and snow, at N.N.E. which continued twenty-four hours, and after that such a frost as, within two days, the whole bay was frozen over, but free again before night."[27] On the eleventh of the same month he further observes that: "The lectures at Boston and Newtown returned again to their former course, because the weather was many times so tedious as people could not travel etc."[28] Under such conditions it is not strange that Ward did not attend a meeting of the ministers at Boston, January 19, at the call of the magistrates. His absence is noted by Winthrop in his record of the meeting. "All the ministers, except Mr. Ward of Ipswich, met at Boston, being requested by the governour and assistants, to consider these two cases: 1. What we ought to do, if a general governour should be sent out of England? 2. Whether it be lawful for us to carry the cross in our banners? -- In the first case, they all agreed, that, if a general governour were sent, we ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions, (if we were able;) otherwise

to avoid or protract. For the matter of the cross, they were divided, and so deferred it to another meeting."[29] These two problems were of supreme interest in the colony for the moment. The first had arisen from the act of Endicott in cutting the cross from the standard at Salem, and the second from the news that their patent had been recalled and that a royal governour was to be appointed. What Ward's attitude toward the two questions was we do not know. One cannot doubt, however, that he was too much of a lawyer to advocate rash resistance or to countenance so overt an act as the desecration of the royal standard.

About this time Roger Williams was giving trouble to the magistrates, "for that he had taught publickly, that a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain."[30] He was called to Boston and heard "before all the ministers, and very clearly confuted."[31] Winthrop records this event as of April 30, 1635. If his phrase, "all the ministers", is to be taken literally, Ward was present at this gathering. Williams was again before the magistrates at the general courts held in July and October, and as the ministers were requested to attend these hearings, we may assume that Ward was present. At the latter meeting, "Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errours. So the next morning, the court sentences him to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers, save one, approving the

sentence."[32] If Ward was there, he doubtless listened with interest to the passage of arms between the defendant and Mr. Hooker; but there is nothing to indicate that he ever was deeply concerned with the heresies of Williams.

In May, 1635, Mr. Parker and a considerable number of settlers removed from Ipswich to Quascacunquen and founded the town of Newbury.[33] After his departure Ward seems to have been assisted by Thomas Bracey,[34] although there is no record of the latter's ordination. At the general court held this month, Dudley was retired from office, John Haynes being elected governor. There was much political unrest in the colony at this time, especially in Newtown; and in the autumn Dudley sold his house there and removed to Ipswich with his family and his son-in-law, Simon Bradstreet.[35] Shortly after, Hooker and a large part of the congregation left for Connecticut. The addition of Dudley and Bradstreet, and especially the latter's gifted wife, Anne, to the Ipswich congregation, must have been particularly welcome to Nathaniel Ward. There is much that is similar in the characters of Dudley and Ward, and they seem to have been close friends. Dudley's long experience as steward to the Earl of Lincoln, his rugged sense of honour, his dislike of toleration in religion, or laxity in governmental affairs, must have made him a congenial companion to Ward. Moreover the two men had in common a native sense of humour that was akin. The Rev. Nathaniel Rogers once said of Dudley:

> "A table-talker rich in sense,
> And witty without wit's pretense."[36]

In conversation with such a man, Ward must have spent many pleasant hours. The esteem we may feel sure was mutual. Anne Bradstreet tells

us that her father was a "Prizer of good company."[37] and such certainly he must have felt the author of The Simple Cobler to have been.

But even with the advent of such friends, Ward was already finding himself discontented with his environment, and was perhaps even then considering severing his connection with his church. That there was discord within the congregation seems suggested in the following letter by Ward, which also throws much light on conditions in Ipswich, and the circumstances of the writer's life. It was addressed to the younger Winthrop after his arrival from England, but before he returned to Ipswich, and would seem to have been written in 1635.

"Sir: I receiued your loving letter in Mr. Hall's behalfe: I was neuer against his having a lott amongst vs, nor to my remembrance have spoken any thinge to hinder him; only the company that he brought to towne, & his manner of cominge, before the towne knew any such thinge, was observed and disliked. I never heard sillable of that yow mention in your letter concerninge a mayde in Ireland, till the tyme of opening your letter; att that instant Mr. Dudley was telling me of it. I dare not beleeve empty rumours against any man: I am & shalbe tender of young & hopefull men, & ready to incourage them. I am bold to say I am & have bene & shalbe so, whatever is reported to the contrary. Our towne of late, but somewhat too late, have bene carefull on whome they bestowe lotts, being awakned thereto by the confluence of many ill & doubtful persons, & by their behaviour since they came, in drinking and pilferinge; I pray, if you speake with Mr. Hall, advise him to suffer no

private drinkinge in his howse, wherein I heare lately he hath bene to blame. The reasons which move our freemen to be very considerate in disposall of lotts & admission of people to us are thes: ffirst, we conceive the less of Satan's Kingdome we have in our towne, the more of Gods presence & blessinge we may expect. 2ly, we have respect to the creditt of our Church & towne, from which we heare there are too many unjust detractions in the bay, to serve their owne ends. 3ly, we consider our towne as a by or port towne of the land, remote from neighbours, had neede to be strong & of a homogeneous spirit & people, as free from dangerous persons as we may. Lastly, our thoughts & feares growe very sadd to see such multitudes of idle and profane young men, servants & others, with whome we must leave our children, for whose sake & safty we came over, & who came with us from the land of their nativity, their friends & many other comforts, which their birthright intitled them to, relying upon our love, wisdome, & care, to repay them all in this wildernes either in specie or compensations; but I must confesse it sinks us almost to the grave to looke upon the next generation, to whome we must leave them & the fruite of our adventures, labours & counsells: we knowe this might have bene easily prevented by due & tymely care of such as had the opportunity in their hand; & if it be not yet remedied, we & many others must not only say, with greif, we have made an ill change, even from the snare to the pitt, but must meditate some safer refuge, if God will afford it: but I hope he will cause light to shine out of the darknes

& glorifie his strength in the weaknes of men; & do that which seemes to be past all doing. We have our eyes upon yow magistrats to helpe us; & now, good Sir, give me leave with patience to tell yow as I did before yow went to England, that your absence hath bredd us much sorrowe, & your still going from us to Connecticote doth much discourage us. I feare your tye or obligation to this state, & in speciall to this towne, is more then you did well consider when you ingaged your self another way; & I feare your indeavours that way will not be operae ac spei pretium. I am in a dreame, att least not awake, if it be the way of God for so many to desert this place, turning their backs upon us, & to seeke the good of their cattell more then of comth, & my thoughts are that God doth justly rebuke our state by the losse of so many men, vessells, & victualls, in a tyme of dearthe, for their facility in giving way to their departure; for your part we looke & long for yow here, & are in a misery for want of yow. The Lord bring yow in his season, & in the meane tyme afford yow his presence & blessinge where ever yow are; & so I rest

Your worships in all truth of love

Nathl. Warde

Ipswich, Dec. 24.

I firgett not my due respect to your father, mother, & wife. I heare Mr. Coddington hath the sale & disposall of much provision come in this shipp. I intreate yow to do so much as to speake to him in my name to reserve some meale & malt, & what victualls els

he thinke meete till our River be open; our Church will pay him duely for it. I am very deestitue, I have not about 6 bushells corne left, & other things answerable."[38]

Several significant facts are to be noted in this interesting letter. Ward had evidently been concerning himself with the granting of lots and farms to new settlers, and earned for himself the charge of hindering "young and hopefull men". Moreover, the Ipswich Church as well as the town had been the subject of uncomplimentary discussion in the colony at large. For all of these unhappy circumstances Ward blames the laxity of the magistrates who might easily have prevented them by a firmer attitude in the distributing of land. This is exactly the charge made by Dudley and his followers against the rule of Winthrop, and places Ward squarely in the camp of the opposition party. The charge is coupled with the threat of removal to some more promising refuge, "if God will Afford it". That this threat was inconsistent with his plea to young Winthrop not to desert the settlement, probably did not occur to Ward. The whole tone of the letter makes it clear that the Ipswich settlement was proving a disappointment to the better element among the inhabitants. The closing of the river to navigation during the winter months was making it difficult to bring in provisions, and one can surmise that wresting a livelihood from the natural resources of the land was not easy when we find such names as "Labor-in-Vain Creek" and "Heart-break Hill" applied to the local geography.

The spirit of the letter is neither that of the pioneer nor soldier of God fighting to plant His Church in the wilderness. The hardships and deprivations of the frontier life had not been fully anticipated, and discouragement is the result. Further we note that

it was the hope of bettering the future prospects of his children that led Ward to New England. This statement of course should not be taken too literally, nor should we jump to any hasty conclusions because of it. Yet it shows that economic considerations played an important part in Ward's actions, and certainly the tone of the letter is not one of religious enthusiasm. From the postscript we learn that Ward was without private means, and hence dependent upon his church.

If there was unrest within the church at Ipswich, we do not know its precise nature; we can only guess that it was a local reflection of the turmoil in the church at large occasioned by the activities of Mrs. Hutchinson. Ward seems to have taken only an incidental part in this controversy, and his position is not clear. At the general court held October 25, 1636, a conference of the ministers was held at which Mrs. Hutchinson and Rev. John Wheelwright were examined.[39] Ward was present at this meeting, for reference is made to the fact at the examination of Mrs. Hutchinson in November of the following year at Newtown. At this time Cotton was also under examination. The supposed verbatim report of this meeting contains the following:

> "Mr. Cotton, To that purpose I remember somebody speaking of the difference of the witness of the spirit and the seal of the spirit, some to put a distinction called it the broad seal and the little seal. Our brother Wheelwright answered if you will have it so be it so.
>
> Mrs. H. Mr. Ward said that.

Some three or four of the ministers. Mr. Wheelwright said it.

Mr. Cotton. No, it was not brother Wheelwright's speech, but one of your own expressions, and as I remember it was Mr. Ward."[40]

At another point in the examination, Dudley, then Deputy Governor, brought in reference to a conversation between Ward and Mrs. Hutchinson that must have taken place after the Boston meeting.

"Dep. Gov. For that other thing I mentioned for the letter of the scripture that it held forth nothing but a covenant of works, and for the latter that we are in a state of damnation, being under a covenant of works, or to that effect, these two things you deny. Now the case stands thus. About three quarters of a year ago I heard of it, and speaking of it, there came to me one who is not here, but will affirm it if need be, as he did to me that he did hear you say in so many words. He set it down under his hand and I can bring it forth when the court pleases. His name is subscribed to both these things, and upon my peril be it if I bring you not in the paper and bring the minister (meaning Mr. Ward) to be deposed.

Mrs. H. I acknowledge using the words of the apostle to the Corinthians unto him, that they that were ministers of the letter and not the spirit did preach a covenant of works. Upon his saying there was no such scripture, then I fetched the Bible and shewed him this place. 2 Cor. iii.6. He said that was the letter of the law. No, said I, it is the letter of the gospel.

Gov. You have spoken this more than once then.

Mrs. H. Then upon further discourse about proving a good estate and holding it out by manifestation of the spirit he acknowledged that to be the nearest way, but yet said he, will you not acknowledge that which we hold forth to be a way too, wherein we may have hope; no t[illegible]ly if that be a way it is a way to hell."[41]

Slight as these references are, they are not without value in helping us to surmise, at least, Ward's attitude toward the religious controversies of the day. He stood irresolute. As we know, he had been trained in law, not divinity; and he tells us himself, "I am none of the disputers of this world: all I can doe, is to guesse when men speak true or false Divinity."[42] One would say from his conversation with Mrs. Hutchinson, that he could see little difference in the positions of the two factions. He is willing to admit that grace may be held by manifestation of the spirit. It is Mrs. Hutchinson who is intolerant and brands manifestation by good works as the path to hell. Certainly, also, if his remarks could be confounded with those of Wheelwright, he was not making distinctions between the seals that would have offended either side. Where can we find in this the picture of narrow, fanatic intolerance that has so universally been painted as the character of Ward? What we seem to see, rather, is a man who is uncertain or indifferent. Ward could hardly have been uninterested in the warfare about him; I think that actually it was the underlying cause of his discontent and the basic reason for his withdrawing from church office. What was repugnant to Ward was not so much the points

of doctrine involved as the lack of unity and harmony that resulted. More lawyer than minister, Ward desired order, unity and discipline. It was this love of regularity that expressed itself later in the stinging words of the Simple Cobler. As we have seen, Ward arrived when the question of church organization was still drifting. Under Cotton's leadership the separatist influence developed into a congregationalism that fostered the Antinomian movement. It seems now, as we study the confusing evidence of that unhappy episode, that Cotton himself was at sea, that he did not fully grasp the nature of Mrs. Hutchinson's doctrines in their beginning. Opposed to him, or more accurately in rivalry with him for church leadership, was Thomas Hooker. Here again we find in the early days of the controversy a lack of clearly stated ideas. How much of Hooker's opposition was personal, how much of it was dictated by political differences it is hard to say. But it seems clear that by 1636, the colony was roughly divided into two factions, represented by Dudley and Hooker on the one hand, and Winthrop and Cotton on the other. As we know, Ward's own inclinations drew him toward the side of Dudley, especially in political matters; yet we also know that he had a deep and abiding admiration for John Cotton. His loyalties then were divided. Friendship drew him one way, his opinions another, and in church affairs his own convictions were not fixed. The result was that he stood aside, irritated at the dissension, which doubtless he felt was unnecessary, and unwilling to commit himself by definite statement or action. But as a minister this was impossible, and, weary of the strife, as well as of the criticism that his aloofness brought upon him, he determined to lay down his pastoral office. This

he is said to have done sometime in 1636[43] although the authority is not clear. Johnson makes the following entry for that year: "Mr. Nathaniel Rogers being landed, after a long and tedious Voage at Sea, was welcomed by the Church of Christ at Ipswich, where the Reverend and judicious Mr. Nathaniel Ward, although a very able preacher, and much desired, yet for some naturall infirmity (himself being best privy unto) desired to be unbound of his engagement with his people in point of office: that being left to his liberty, hee might Preach more seldom."[44] Cotton Mather gives the date of Rogers' ordination at Ipswich as Feb. 20, 1637/8.[45] The probability is that Ward gave up his office in the latter part of 1636 or early in 1637, and that John Norton, who had been ordained Teacher at Ipswich in 1635,[46] officiated until the coming of Rogers.

It has been customary to assume that it was because of ill health that Ward renounced the pulpit. This is probably based on Johnson's statement, although it is clear from his words that Ward's "natural infirmity" was not readily discernible. The state of his health may have been the ostensible reason given for his resignation, yet there is evidence that church dissention was lurking underneath. The first indication is in the letter of Ward's already quoted. The hint given there is supported by a passage in a letter by Samuel Symonds to John Winthrop, Jr. while the younger Winthrop was at Ipswich in 1637, preparing for his departure to Connecticut. "I heare that your Church hath settled the choyce of your ministers in their offices, & that now things are likely to goe on very well & Comfortablely ..... and truly the peace of any church (because pretious) is soe difficult

to preserve."[47] This suggests that church affairs had not been wholly comfortable in the past, and that the change in ministers was expected to mend matters. The same note is struck in a later letter (1647) in the same correspondence, where Symonds, referring to some testimony given in a lawsuit over some land, says, "It was to the effect, that you left Towne when Mr. Ward was leaving his place, the Church settling our present officers, & the Church ready to crack."[48] That the public at large did not regard Ward as physically incapacitated for church service may be assumed from two sources. Mr. R. Stansby writing from England to John Wilson, pastor at Boston, and voicing the discontent of the English ministers with religious conditions in New England, says: "...many of the ministers are much straighted with you, insomuch as although you want ministers (as some wright), yet some amongst you work with their hands being not called to any place, as Mr. Burdett of Yarmouth, etc. Others laye down the ministry & become private members, as Mr. Bacheler, Mr. Jenner, & Mr. Nathan. Ward &c&."[49] Letchford, in his "Plain Dealing", gives a list of the ministers of the Bay for 1640, and speaks of Ward as "out of employment".[50] The accumulated evidence seems to make it certain that it was not ill health but church dissension that caused him to resign. At the time he was only fifty-seven or fifty-eight years old, certainly not an age that would force him from active work. We know, too, that he took up preaching after his return to England, and held church office until he was past seventy. If poetry can be offered as evidence, we might add as good measure and for what it is worth, the following lines from the pen of Capt. Edward Johnson:

"Thou ancient Sage, come Ward among
Christs folk, take part in this great worke of his,
Why do'st thou stand and gaze about so long;
Do'st war in jest, why, Christ in earnest is,
And hath thee arm'd with weapons for that end,
To wound and heale his enemies submitting,
Not carnally, then to his worke attend;
Thou hast prevail'd the hearts of many hitting.
Although the Presbytery unpleasant jar,
And errors daily in their braines new coyne;
Despayer not, Christs truth they shall not mar;
But with his helpe such drosse from Gold refine.
What Man dost meane to lay thy Trumpet downe?
Because they son like Warrier is become,
Hold out or sure lesse bright will be thy crowne;
Till death Christs servants labour is not done."[51]

To Ward's friends it was doubtless a bitter disappointment that he so soon laid down his charge. His period of active work in the ministry had been short, indeed, but the fates that sent him to our shores for twelve brief years had a task awaiting him that he was uniquely fitted to perform. Freed from the exacting demands of church office, he could give to it his whole energy, and write his name in enduring letters upon the pages of our early history, not as a "humble servant of Christ," but a s a far sighted and staunch "servant of the people."

Notes to Chapter IV

1 Fiske's, The Beginnings of New England p. 117.

2 Religious History of New England p. 5.

3 Bradford's History of Plimmouth Plantation, ii:93.

4 Religious History of New England p. 11

5 Massachusetts Colonial Records.

6 Ibid.

7 Winthrop i:32. The reservation intended to be made by this "protestation" was very soon put aside. One of the characteristics of the New England churches was that ordination followed and did not precede election to church office, and hence that the ministerial dignity and prerogative was laid aside with the office. Winthrop makes this a point against Ward when the latter preached the election sermon in 1641.

8 Hubbard's History of New England pp. 181-182. Hooker's Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline (1648), and Cotton's Way of the Churches of Christ in New England (1648) became the authoritative exposition of New England Congregationalism. From these and The Results of Three Synods Held by the Elders etc of Massachusetts Province (?), a detailed study of ecclesiastical affairs in the early days can be made. This material, while it sheds a great deal of light on the religious conditions of the colony during the years Ward was here, is not of enough immediate pertinence to warrant its inclusion in these pages.

9 Winthrop i:114.

10 Ibid. Appendix A55 vol. i.

11 Water's A Sketch of John Winthrop the Younger p. 8.

12 Ibid.

13 Felt's History of Ipswich p. 216; Winthrop i:133. Cotton Mather, however, does not mention his residence at Ipswich in his account of him in the Magnalia, and it is doubtful if he was regularly ordained or the church actually gathered until the arrival of Ward.

14 Massachusetts Col. Rec. i:123; Winthrop i:137.

15 Winthrop i:101.

16 Massachusetts Col. Rec. i:76.

17 Ibid i:110.

18 Winthrop i:133.

19 An interesting description of some early Ipswich houses will be found in Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony pp. 18 ff.

20 Water's Sketch of John Winthrop the Younger p. 9

21 Winthrop, Appendix A55 vol. i. The wording of the letter, "Mr. Ward continues at your house this winter, and Mr. Clerk (to give him content) in his own", suggests not only that Ward may have been living with the younger Winthrop, but that some arrangement had been made by which Clerk was to take Winthrop's house and Ward that of Mr. Clerk: and that for some reason the latter did not choose to follow out the plan.

22 Sketch of John Winthrop the Younger pp. 10-16; Ipswich in Massachusetts Bay Colony p. 398.

23 Ipswich in Massachusetts Bay Colony p. 33.

24 Sketch of John Winthrop the Younger p. 17.

25 Ipswich in Massachusetts Bay Colony p. 470.

26 Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather pp. 186-7.

27 Winthrop i:151.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid i:154.

30 Ibid i:158.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid i:171.

33 Ipswich in Massachusetts Bay Colony p. 12

34 Felt's History of Ipswich p. 218; Felt's Ecclesiastical History of New England i:421.

35 Jones' Thomas Dudley p. 211.

36 Ibid p. 192.

37 Anne Bradstreet's epitaph on her father, cited by Jones p. 192.

38 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th, vii:24.

39 Winthrop i:201.

40 Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts 11 Appendix II p. 506.

41 Ibid p. 496.

42 Simple Cobler p. 16.

43 Pulsifer's edition of The Simple Cobler p. iv; Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts p. 113; Archaeologia Americana iii:cxii.

44 Johnson's Wonder Working Providence p. 88.

45 Magnalia i:377.

46 Wonder Working Providence p. 73.

47 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th vii:121.

48 Ibid 125. Winthop did not actually settle in Connecticut until 1646, although he was absent from Ipswich a great part of the

intervening time. (Sketch of John Winthrop the Younger p. 37).

49 Ibid p. 10.

50 Letchford's Plain Dealing p. 84.

51 Wonder Working Providence p. 67. It should be remembered that this work was probably not written until after 1649. Therefore the poetic tribute was not framed while Ward was in church office, a fact that is clear from the reference to Ward's son John who did not come to this country until 1639. The poem makes it clear, however, that Ward made no secret of his dislike of the presbytery's "unpleasant jar."

Chapter V

THE LAW-GIVER

1636-1645

Let us with the license of imagination drift backward nearly three hundred years to the year 1639, we cannot be exact, so we will guess it to be an afternoon in May. We slip quietly into a dusky corner of the low ceilinged parlour of the Simple Cobler's modest house. Through the open windows comes the sound of men plowing in the fields, and through one of the front windows we see a spot of color in the yard of the house across the green where Richard Saltonstall's little daughter is playing in the warm sunlight. But what holds our attention within the room is the figure of a man seated by one of the side windows, bending over a litter of papers on the table before him. He has drawn the table close to the open window for the better light and air, perhaps also because by glancing up he can catch a glimpse of his daughter, Mistress Firmin as she busies herself in the garden of the house next door. Since the table is at an angle he may, by turning his head, read the simple words carved above the fireplace: but he is intent upon his work for the moment. Safe in our invisibility we glance over his shoulder as he writes. Swiftly and firmly his pen traces the words upon the page: "The free fruition of such liberties Immunities and priveledges as humanitie, Civilitie, and Christianitie call for as due to every man in his place and proportion without impeachment and Infringement

hath ever bene and ever will be the tranquillitie and Stabilitie of Churches and Commonwealths. And the deniall or deprivall thereof, the disturbance if not the ruine of both." For a moment the pen is still, and the keen eyes run quickly over the words. Then the quill scratches swiftly on. "We hould it therefore our dutie and saftie whilst we are about the further establishing of this Government to collect and expresse all such freedomes as for the presentwe foresee may concerne us, and our posteritie after us, And to ratify them with our sollemne consent." Again the pen pauses, but only for a moment; with the rush of inspiration the final paragraph is written. "Wee doe therefore this day religiously and unanimously decree and confirme these following Rites, liberties and priveledges concerneing our Churches, and Civill State to be respectively impartiallie and inviolably enjoyed and observed throughout our Jurisdiction for ever."[1] The pen is laid down, and soberly the writer studies the simple words that he has written. Simple indeed they are, but with the fine literary quality that ever goes with t ruth simply expressed. Yet their author as he pushes them slowly from him cannot know how fine they really are nor how often they will find echo in the state documents of a new and undreamed of Republic. It is perhaps a little wearily then that he turns from his preamble to the scattered notes before him from which he must shape the Magna Carta he is creating for the common safety of the colony. As he again bends over his quill let us leave him at his work, and turn to a consideration of the series of events that prepared the way for his task and gave him his share in it.

In 1634 when Ward first landed in New England, the settlement had been established less than five years, yet there already existed a system of local government and judicial procedure that had reached a certain degree of fixity and authority. But it was without precedent and was circumscribed only by the general terms of the company's Charter. This Charter, a document intended essentially to cover the needs of a seventeenth century trading company, had in this short space of time become the basis of a political commonwealth of several thousand people and an object of venerated concern. It was partly due to the inherent political genius of the English race, and partly to the individual acumen of Winthrop and his associates that there was already functioning a nominally democratic system of government predicated on the charter of the trading company. There were, however, many dangers inherent in such a metamorphosis, and none realized this better than Winthrop. Briefly stated, the Charter furnished the following mechanism of government.

There was provided a Governor, a Deputy Governor, and eighteen Assistants, although the actual number of Assistants was usually only eight or nine; not until 1680 were the full eighteen in office. These magistrates were to be elected out of the freemen of the colony "by such greater parte of the said company for the tyme being, then and there present as aforesaide."[2] Seven Assistants and the two officers formed a quorum. This body was to meet once a month or oftener if it so desired. Four times a year, upon every last Wednesday in Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas terms, all the freemen were to be gathered together in a Great or General Court, the

Easter meeting b eing appointed for the annual election of the Governor, Deputy Governor and the Assistants. In the General Court new members might be admitted to the company of freemen, and what was to be of vast importance, the General Court might "make laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of the saide lands and plantcion, and the people inhabiting and to inhabite the same, as to them from tyme to tyme shalbe thought meete. Soe as such lawes and ordinances be not contrairie or repugnant to the lawes and statutes of this our Realme of England."[4]

As might be expected the powers of the General Court w ere not at first made active. The small number of the freemen, the dominating character and position of the Governor, the practical demands of expediency in the first days of settlement, all contributed to leave in the hands of the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants the actual powers of government. Up to and including the General Court of May 14, 1634, the freemen had met in general court only five times, and the action of the court had been insignificant. All this was the direct result of a vote taken at the first General Court, October 19, 1630. "It was propounded if it were not the best course that the ffreemen should have the power of chusing Assistants when these are to be chosen, & the Assistants f rom amongst themselves to chuse a Governor & Deputy Governor, whoe with the Assistants should have the power of makeing lawes & chusing officers to execute the same. This was fully assented unto by the generall vote of the people, & erection of hands."[4] After this meeting in October, the General Court was gathered only once a year, the meeting coming in May. During the ensuiing three years the

Court of Assistants usurped the law-making power, although the Governor and Deputy Governor continued to be chosen by the annual General Court. Only once, in February 1631/2 was the power of the magistrates questioned. This was when Watertown objected to its share of the tax levied to fortify Boston, on the ground that the government was like that of mayor and aldermen. Winthrop, however, convinced them that the government was parliamentary in form, and the objections were withdrawn. With this exception, from 1630 to 1634 the Court of Assistants was the law-making body, punishing infringements of the laws, granting land, and levying taxes. To all intent and purposes the freemen exerted only the right to choose the chief magistrates and Assistants. But the number of freemen was increasing rapidly each year, and with the increase came a corresponding tendency for the inherent love of self-government to assert itself. The people began to murmur against the powers assumed by the magistrates.

In 1634 an organized move was made on the part of the freemen to recapture some of their vanished powers. When the notices were sent out for the General Court that was to meet May 14th, two deputies from each of the several towns met together to consider what matters might be brought before the General Court about to assemble. Whence came the initiative for this movement is not clear. The deputies demanded a sight of the Charter, and having read it promptly expressed to the Governor their belief that under it the power of making laws rested with the General Court. Winthrop's answer was that the power did belong to the General Court, but that the body of freemen had become so large and so scattered that it was impossible for it to function

as a law-making body. This power must then be delegated to a selected group. There were not, however, in Winthrop's opinion a sufficient number of men qualified to form such a body, "yet this they might do at present, viz. They might at the General Court make an order, that once in the year, a certain number should be appointed (upon summons from the Governor) to revise all laws &c and to reform what they found amiss therein; but not to make any new laws, but to prefer their grievancies to the Court of Assistants; and that no assessment should be laid upon the country without the consent of such a committee, nor any lands disposed of."[6]

It is clear from this entry taken from Winthrop's Journal, that a definite demand was being made for a more democratic conduct of affairs. Winthrop's proposal was for a committee of the freemen to which a veto power would be given in the important matters of taxes and the granting of land, together with the right to revise existing laws, but with specific denial of their right to make new laws. From any point of view this proposal of the Governor's would seem unsatisfactory. It clearly requested the freemen to renounce their Charter rights. The answer of the freemen was written into the records of the General Court of May 14, 1634. This court is of unusual historical interest. It was composed of the Governor, the Deputy Governor, six Assistants, and twenty-four delegates or deputies from the several towns, probably three each from Newtown, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Saugus, and Salem.[7] This body of delegates was the origin of the present Legislature. They proceeded to write into the records several far-reaching and significant laws. "That none

but the Generall Court hath power to make and establish lawes, nor elect and appoynt officers, as Gov. Deputy Gov. Assistants, Treasurer, Secretary Cat. Leuietant[s], Ensignes, or any of like moment, or to remove such upon misdemeanor, as also to sett out the dutyes and powers of the said officers.

"That none but the Generall Court hath power to rayse moneyes & taxes & to dispose of lands, viz to give and confirme proprietyes."

"It is likewise ordered that there shalbe foure General Courts held yearely, to be summoned by the Gov. for the tyme being, & not to be dissolved without the consent of the major part of the Court."

And also, "that such persons as shalbe hereafter soe deputed by the freemen of the several plantations to deale in their behalfe, in ye publicue affayres of the commonwealth shall have the full power & voyces of all the said ffreemen, deryved to them for the making & establishing of lawes, graunting of lands etc & to deale in all other affaires of the commonwealth wherein the freemen have to doe, the matter of election of magistrates & other offices onely excepted, wherein every freeman is to gyve his own voice."[8]

By these laws the delegates completely stripped the magistrates of their usurped powers, and firmly established the rights of the General Court. In all essentials they established the system of government that exists to-day. The nature and comprehension of these changes clearly indicate that they were the result of an intelligent and organized reform movement. The same court saw the overthrow of Winthrop, Thomas Dudley replacing him as governor. Winthrop's mention of this event in his journal is interesting in its brevity. "The

court chose a new governor, viz. Thomas Dudley, Esq. the former deputy; and Mr. Ludow was chosen deputy; and John Haines Esq. and assistant, and all the rest of the assistants chosen again."[9] A marginal note tells us they were "chosen by papers". The first significant point in this election is that it was Dudley who replaced Winthrop. The former as we can readily glean from Winthrop's own Journal had long stood in opposition to Winthrop's patriarchal rule, deeming the Governor lax in authority in certain points and all too ready to stretch the powers of the magistrates. It cannot be mere coincidence that the restoration of the legislative function of the General Court, the representative system and the use of secret ballots went hand in hand with Dudley's first rise to the governorship. Significant too is the inclusion of John Haines among the Assistants. He was the only new member among the magistrates, for since Dudley had been Deputy, Ludlow an Assistant, and Winthrop retained in the latter position, the election was simply a rearrangement of officers with the exception of Haines. This fact, especially in the light of his later prominence, certainly suggests that he was the organizer of the freemen in their struggle, and the sponsor of the reforms that resulted.

Although the General Court of May, 1634, had resulted in a signal victory for the democratic forces in the colony, there still remained several points of difference unsettled, and the struggle had of course bred enmities that were long in healing. There was for the moment a breathing spell, but the freemen were determined to press their advantage and carry out further reforms in the political structure. This was the situation when Ward arrived in the colony in June, and he

seems very soon to have cast his lot with the liberal party under the leadership of Dudley.

At the meeting of the General Court in September the question of allowing Hooker and the Newtown congregation to remove to Connecticut came up. This caused an extended discussion that occupied several days. When the matter came to a vote, a majority of the delegates favored granting the petition while a majority of the magistrates were against it. This situation raised the question of the "negative voice" of the magistrates. The latter claimed under the terms of the patent that no law or act could be passed if a majority of the magistrates opposed it. In the bitter controversy that ensued, the delegates stood firm in denying such a right to the Assistants. The leader in this opposition seems to have been Israel Stoughton, a delegate from Dorchester and "chiefe speaker".[10] Neither side would yield, and the court was deadlocked. In this crisis "a day of humility to seek the Lord" was declared, and when the court again assembled the Rev. Mr. Cotton preached so eloquently that the congregation at Newtown accepted the "enlargement" offered by Boston and Watertown, and the petition was withdrawn.[11] The question of the "negative voice" was allowed to sleep in silence. But Stoughton had earned the enmity of Winthrop by his opposition, and the latter sought his revenge at the General Court in the following March. As there was some expectation that the question of the "negative voice" would again be raised, Stoughton was asked by friends to make a written statement of the grounds of his opposition. This he did. The document, or "book" as it is referred to in the records, came to the hands of Cotton, who sent it to Winthrop

asking for interpretation of some of the points that rested on the Charter. At the opening of the court, the public being excluded, Stoughton was charged with having written the "book" against the magistrates and with denying them to be magistrates. Stoughton strenuously asserted his innocence of any such intent, but so bitter was the opposition, especially on the part of Winthrop, that Stoughton allowed the book to be burned. This however, did not satisfy the magistrates, and Stoughton was barred from office for a term of three years. This action on the part of the General Court seems to have been dictated by a desire to mollify Winthrop and the other offended magistrates, for Stoughton tells us in his account of the affair that several of the delegates and magistrates told him as much and that the judgment would be reversed at the first opportunity. In the same account, which is a letter to his brother John in England, he also says, "I should be too teadious to you to relate the severall privat passages of Mr. Cottons, of Mr. Hookers, Mr. Wards and other ministers about this business, who have beene marvelously affected to see their dealings, especially Mr. Wenthrops."[12]

From a study of the records and Stoughton's letter it seems clear that Winthrop had allowed his personal dislike for Stoughton to carry him too far. It seems certain that the author of the offending book had no intention of asserting what was charged against him. He would seem to have been in some degree a victim of the ill feeling that was the aftermath of the political upheaval the year before, in which he had played a part. The incident is of importance, however, in showing that as early as the spring of 1635 Ward had expressed himself

in opposition to Winthrop, and had aligned himself on the side of liberal thought. This is not strange, for certainly no trained barrister could have been sympathetic toward the loose and irresponsible political system that Winthrop sponsored.

The Court of Election that met May 6, 1635, was entirely in the control of the freemen, their deputies apparently having determined on a course of action in advance. The result was an even greater change in the personnel of the magistrates than that of the year before. Both Winthrop and Stoughton have left us interesting comments on the situation. Winthrop tells us that, "A general court was held at Newtown, where John Haynes, Esq. was chosen governour, Richard Bellingham Esq. deputy governour, and Mr. Hough and Mr. Dummer chosen assistants to the former; and Mr. Ludlow, the late deputy, left out of the magistracy. The reason was, partly, because the people would exercise their absolute power, &c. and partly upon some speeches of the deputy, who protested against the election of the governour as void, for that the deputies of the several towns had agreed upon the election before they came, &c. But this was generally discussed, and the election adjudged good."[13] The change in the governorship and the action in respect to Mr. Ludlow are illuminated by Stoughton, his letter also showing clearly that the freemen were determined to keep the magistracy under control and holdthem responsible to the people. "This Generall court one Mr. Haynes was chosen Governour a very Godly man of Mr. Hookers charge. Captayne Indicot is left out partly for his business in the crosse, and partly for other matters. So allso our Mr. Ludlow is now no Magistrate: tho within 6 days before it was

most probable and almost past question that he would be chosen governour (for we desire to change yeare by yeare the governourship: but the assistants more rarely, yet sometimes least it be esteemed hereditary. Now he is neither governour nor assistant, so did divine providence dispose it. And I question whether he will ever be Magistrate more, for many have taken great offence at him, the causes I forbeare to relate. But they are both wise and godly men that are offended: And not many much sorry."[14]

This explains the failure of the court to reelect Dudley, and at the same time indicates that principles and not personalities formed the basis of the reform movement. The intention of making the gubernatorial term one year was not consistently carried out, but the danger of too long a tenure of one man was definitely removed. There remained one problem, however, that the freemen fought tenatiously to resolve. This was the question of fundamental laws that should circumscribe the magistrates in their judicial function. During the first decade of the colony the Court of Assistants exercised unlimited judicial powers, except for certain minor ones that were for a time delegated to inferior quarter courts. There was no definite criminal code to determine what acts were punishable or in what degree. In case of complaint, the Assistants heard the evidence, decided whether the conduct of the accused deserved punishment and what the sentence should be. It therefore rested within the discretion of the magistrates to define what constituted crime and the measure of punishment. The General Courts had passed few statutes and none that set up any legal code to guide the magistrates in their judicial function. In

their proceedings, the court had paid little regard to English precedents, determining cases largely upon circumstances and the character of the individual. As might be expected, considering the nature of the colony, the ordinances of God and the rules of the Puritan Church played a large part in the court's procedure. The offenses were largely of a religious nature, or else grew out of religious zeal, as for instance Endicott's act in defacing the royal standard at Salem.

The inherent danger in leaving so much to the personal discrimination of the magistrates was early apparent to the freemen, and having gained control of the legislative power, they resolutely, set out to obtain a codification of the laws. The first step was taken at the meeting of the General Court just discussed, that of May 6, 1635. Haynes, Bellingham, Winthrop and Dudley were appointed "to make drafts of such laws, as they shall judge useful for the well ordering of this Plantation, and present the same to the Court."[15] It is not strange that a committee representing such antagonistic ideas as these men held failed to accomplish anything. There is no evidence that they were made any report, or for that matter that they even met. But the movement for a code of fundamental laws was at least started, and it needed only perseverance and the right man to produce results.

The political situation was complicated by the arrival on October 6, 1635, of Henry Vane, the son and heir of Sir Henry Vane who at the time held the post of Comptroller in the Council of King Charles. The younger Vane was at this time only twenty-four years

old. His youth, his pleasing personality, and his aristocratic birth gave him at once a position of eminence in the colony. The character and motives of Vane's political activities have never been fully analyzed or understood. On the face of it he seems simply a meddler in a situation that he did not understand. Certainly his effort to heal the differences that existed, resulted in little but increased resentment on the part of both Winthrop and Dudley.[16] At the same time it would seem that Vane drew to him the support of the freemen who saw in his liberal views a champion of their cause, and at the Court of Elections May 25, 1636, Vane was elected Governor and Winthrop chosen Deputy. The combination seems a strange one, for the two men represented the extremes of political thought in the colony. At the same session, the freemen again sought action on the question of a legal code. The order is an interesting and illuminating one. It reads as follows: "The Governor, the Deputy Governor, Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, Richard Bellingham, Esquires, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Peters and Mr. Shepherd are entreated to make a draught of laws aggreeable to the word of God, which may be the Fundamentals of this Commonwealth, and to present the same the next General Court. And it is ordered that in the mean time the magistrates and their associates shall proceed in the Courts to hear and determine all causes, according to the laws now established, and when there is no law, then as near the law of God as they can; and for all business out of Court forwhich there is no certain rule yet set down, those of the standing council or some two of them, shall take order by their best discretion, that they may be ordered and ended according to the rule

of God's word, and to take care for all military affairs until the next General Court."[17]

It will be noted that his committee included that of 1635 with the addition of Vane and the three ministers, Cotton, Peters, and Shepherd. It is interesting to see that an attempt was made, clumsy though it was, to place some check on the courts while the code should be in process of construction. The new committee seems never to have functioned as a whole, but John Cotton, presumably working independently, drew up a code founded on the Old Testament. Winthrop records that at the General Court in October, "Mr. Cotton, being requested by the general court, with some other ministers, to assist some of the magistrates in compiling a body of fundamental laws, did this court, present a model of Moses his judicials, compiled in an exact method, which were taken into further consideration till the next general court."[18] No action was apparently taken on this code of laws, but due to its subsequent publication in England under misleading circumstances, it gained an unjustified notoriety and authority. This matter will be returned to in these pages. For the present Cotton's code must be held in abeyance. May 17, 1637, saw a stormy court of elections held at Newtowne. For bitterness and turbulence its equal had not been seen in the history of the colony. It occurred at the height of the Antinomian dispute, and the heresies of Mistress Anne Hutchinson were the issues upon which the election largely turned. Vane had supported Mrs. Hutchinson, and Dudley and Winthrop buried past differences in a united effort to crush Vane and his liberal religious ideas. The account of that day on Cambridge

Common does not make pleasant reading for the hero-worshipper no matter who his hero may be. Vane's part was, to say the least, childish, and his opponents swept everything before them, but the methods used were such that one is tempted to say -- in spite of the mild anachronism involved -- that the political steam roller was invented on that day. Winthrop became governor and Dudley was chosen deputy. Two important additions were made to the assistants, however, in the persons of Israel Stoughton of Dorchester, and Richard Saltonstall of Ipswich. But the furor of religious dissension and the threat of Indian warfare prevented any further action on the question of legal reform.

The court that met March 12, 1637/8, again turned its attention to the problem, although approaching it from a slightly new angle. "For the well ordering of these Plantations now in the beginning thereof, it having been found by the little time of experience we have here had, that thew ant of written laws hath put the Court into many doubts and much trouble in many particular cases, this Court hath therefore ordered, that the freemen of every town (or some part thereof chosen by the rest) within this jurisdiction, shall assemble together in their several towns, and collect the heads of such necessary and fundamental laws, as may be suitable to the times andplaces, where God in his providence hath cast us, and the heads of such laws to deliver in writing to the Governor for the time being before the 5th day of the 4th month, called June, next, to the intent that the same Governor together with the rest of the standing council, and Richard Bellingham Esquire, Mr. Bulkeley, Mr.

Phillips, Mr. Peters and Mr. Shepherd, elders of several churches, Mr. Nathaniel Ward, Mr. William Spencer, and Mr. William Hawthorne, or a major part of them, may, upon the survey of such heads of laws, make a compendious abridgement of the same by the General Court in Autumn next, adding yet to the same or detracting therefrom what in their wisdoms shall seem meet, that so the whole work being perfected to the best of their skill, it may be presented to the General Court for confirmation or rejection, as the Court shall adjudge. And it is also ordered, that the said persons shall survey all the orders already made, and reduce them into as few heads as they may, and present them unto the General Court for approbation or refusalas aforesaid."[19]

This order, like the previous ones, increased the size of the committee, on the theory, I suspect, that the more fingers there are in the batter the less likely there is to be a cake. The initial move in the procedure was placed on "the freemen of every town (or some part chosen by the rest)", a device that certainly spelt inaction, for what is everybody's business falls to the lot of no one. It will be noted also that the name of John Cotton is not included, probably on the grounds that this gentleman had already done his best to carry out the desires of the people and might conceivably do so again. But the committee included one man who was apparently of the same opinion as the people: Nathaniel Ward. What caused his inclusion we do not know, although we may suspect, without charge of insanity, that the new Assistant from Ipswich, Mr. Richard Saltonstall, may have been influential in the matter. Needless to say the committee did not report the following November. This may partly be explained by the fact that the time allowed it was entirely in-

adequate to its task. However it seems likely that the committee never did function as was intended, and that Ward, as Cotton had done earlier, drew up a code of laws independently. Passages from the records and from Winthrop's Journal shortly to be quoted make this supposition almost a surety. The same conclusion is reached if we scan the personnel of the committee. There was no one on it other than Ward who was qualified to draw up a body of fundamental laws except Winthrop and Bellingham, and neither of these would have been likely to lend aid.[20] It is, I think, safe to assume that during the period extending from March 12, 1637/8, to November 5, 1639 Ward was engaged in gathering and sifting material and in drawing up his code, and that essentially he worked independently and alone.

On November 5, 1639, the Colonial Records show the following entry. "It is ordered that the Governor, Deputy Governor, Treasurer and Mr. Stoughton or any three of them, with one or more of the deputies of Boston, Charlestown or Roxbury, shall peruse all those models which have been or shall be further presented to this Court, or themselves, concerning a form of government and laws to be established, and shall draw them up into one body, (altering, adding or omitting what they shall think fit,) and shall take order, that the same shall be copied out and sent to the several towns, that the elders of the churches and freemen may consider of them against the next General Court, and the charges to be defrayed by the Treasurer."[21] The important phrase here is "those models which have been or shall be further presented to this court." Cotton's code we know had been, and here is clear proof that another is in

existence and about to be so presented. The passage providing for altering, amending, copying and sending to the towns is simply another obstacle cast in the path of progress. Winthrop's Journal sheds more light on the situation as well as frankly confessing that the previous delays had been intentional on the part of the magistrates. It is only fair to say that the reasons offered for the policy of obstruction are not without foundation. "The people," writes Winthrop, "had long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe, while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates. Divers attempts had been made at former courts, and the matter referred to some of the magistrates and some of the elders; but still it came to no effect; for, being committed to the care of many, whatsoever was done by some, was still disliked or neglected by others. At last it was referred to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Nathaniel Warde, &c., and each of them framed a model, which were presented to this General Court, and by them committed to the Governor and Deputy and some others, to consider of, and so prepare it for the Court in the third month next. Two great reasons there were, which caused most of the magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter. One was, want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people, considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive, that such laws would be fittest for us, which should arise pro re nata upon occasions, &c., and so the laws of England and other states grew, and therefore the fundamental laws of England are called customs, consuetudines. 2. For

that it would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provide, we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, and thatw e were assured we must do. But to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression; as in our church discipline, and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages shall not be solemnized by ministers, is repugnant to the laws of England; but to bring it to a custom by practice for magistrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant, &c. At length (to satisfy the people) it proceeded, and the two models were digested with divers alterations and additions, and abbreviated and sent to every town, (12,) to be considered of first by the magistrates and elders, and then to be published by the constables to all the people, that if any man should think fit, that anything therein ought to b e altered, he might acquaint some of the deputies therewith against the next Court."[22]

This passage, so typical of Winthrop, is full of interest. It proves beyond question that the opposition to a legal code came from the magistrates under the leadership of Winthrop. He bases the policy of obstruction on two points. The first of these is a preference for an unwritten constitution after the English model. This argument is not without force; but in a new commonwealth where there were no precedents to fall back on, it put an enormous responsibility upon the magistrates in their judicial capacity, especially as the great body of English common law seems to have been little regarded in the proceedure of the courts.[23] His second

objection, that any fundamental code drawn up would contain laws repugnant to the laws of England, seems of less validity. What the freemen desired was some established laws that would protect life and property and guarantee to the individual those civil rights that English law gave him. It is not clear why such a code should conflict with English practice. Moreover, the magistrates themselves when exercising the legislative function had not hesitated to enace laws that were definitely"repugnant" to the laws of England.[24] It would seem that what really motivated the obstructionists was a desire to keep the control of public affairs as much as possible in the hands of a few. They feared for the safety of the state if the people should gain control. Hence it is clear that the rise of democratic ideas in the colony came from the rank and file of the freemen, or leaders who sprang from that rank and file, such as Stoughton. To their support came men like Haynes, Dudley, and Ward, who stood for the guaranteeing of fundamental civil and political rights probably without going so far as to accept the principle of strict democracy.

That this was Ward's personal view is clear from a passage in a letter to Winthrop presumably written in 1639, and dated December 22. The passage quoted refers to the recenta ction of the court in sending the draft of the proposed code to the freemen of the different towns for their consideration. He requests, "That yow would please to advise thoroughly with the counsell, whether it will not be of ill consequence to send the Court business to the common consideration of the freemen. I feare it will too much

exauctorate the power of the Court to prostrate matters in that manner. I suspect both Commonwealth and Churches have discended to lowe already: I see the spirits of people runne high, & what they gett they hould. They may not be denyed their proper & Lawfull liberties, but I question whether it be of God to interest the inferiour sort in that which should be reserved inter optimates penes quos est sancire leges. Yf Mr. Lachford have writt them out, I would be glad to peruse one of his copies, if I may receive them."[25] This attitude is entirely consistent with what we know of Ward's character. His aristocratic instincts as well as his experiences abroad made him fear the power of the "inferiour sort", but his high sense of justice and his legal training made him their champion in their struggle for "proper and lawfull liberties."

That the people did so regard him is seen in an event that transpired at the court of elections held June 2, 1641, while the adoption of Ward's code was still pending. The incident is best told in the words of John Winthrop. "Some of the freemen, without the consent of the magistrates or govenour, had chosen Mr. Nathaniel Ward to preach at this court, pretending that it was part of their liberty. The governour (whose right indeed it is, for till the court be assembled the freemen are but private persons) would not strive about it, for though it did not belong to them, yet if theyw ould have it, there was reason to yield it to them. Yet they had no great reason to choose him, though otherwise veryable, seeing he had cast off his pastor's place at Ipswich, and was now no minister by the received determination of our churches. In his sermon he delivered

many useful things, but in a moral and political discourse, grounding his propositions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which sure is an errour, for if religion and the word of God makes men wiser than their neighbours, and these times have the advantage of all that have gone before us in experience and observation, it is probable that by these helps, we may better frame rules of government for ourselves than to receive others upon the bare authority of the wisdom, justice, &c. of those heathen commonwealths. Among other things, he advised the people to keep all their magistrates in an equal rank, and not give more honour or power to one than to another, which is easier to advise than to prove, seeing it is against the practice of Israel (where some were rulers of thousands, and some but of tens) and of all nations known or recorded. Another advice he gave, that magistrates should not give private advice, and take knowledge of any man's cause before it came to public hearing. This was debated after in the general court, where some of the deputies moved to have it ordered. But it was opposed by some of the magistrates upon these reasons: 1. Because we must then provide lawyers to direct men in their causes. 2. The magistrates must not grant out original process, as now they do, for to what end are they betrusted with this, but that they should take notice of the cause of the action, that they might either divert the suit, if the cause be unjust, or direct it in a right course if it be good. 3. By this occasion the magistrate hath opportunity to end many differences in a friendly way, without charge, to the parties, or trouble to the court. 4. It prevents many difficulties and tediousness to

the court to understand the cause aright (no advocate being allowed, and the parties being not able, for the most part, to open the cause fully and clearly, especially in public.) 5. It is allowed in criminal causes, and why not in civil. 6. Whereas it is objected that such magistrate is in danger of being prejudiced, answer, if the thing be lawful and useful, it must not be laid aside for the temptations which are incident to it, for in the least duties men are exposed to great temptations."[26]

This account, which doubtless indicates the important points in Ward's sermon, as well as some of the discussion it evoked in the court afterwards, is of more than passing interest in a study of Ward. It seems clear that he took advantage of his pulpit privilege to make a political speech; that he was more interested in the political problems of the commonwealth than in the spiritual condition of the delegates. Doubtless his sermon was much better received by the assembled freemen than it was by the magistrates. His presence in the pulpit is ample proof of the desire of the people to hear him, and of the esteem in which they held him. Yet we cannot escape the suspicion that they regarded him less as a minister than as a shrewd statesman with a gift for pungent and pithy speech. The action of the delegates in moving the adoption of some of his suggestions shows how deeply and seriously they considered his discourse. The ideas expressed by Ward are characteristic in their advanced thought. His advice against previous knowledge and judgment by the magistrates in legal contests was sound law, and unquestionably struck at the patriarchal methods of government favored by Winthrop. Curious, but still

suggestive of Ward's advanced political theories, is his advocacy of equal power among the magistrates, for in it we see the germ of that theory of checks and balances between functions of government that was so carefully and elaborately worked into the Constitution of the United States.

Although it is clear that Ward's code was completed by November, 1639, delays in its enactment into law continued,[27] and it was not until the Court of December, 1641, that the order was passed which gave the freemen their long desired "Magna Charta." Winthrop records the event in these words, "This session continued three weeks, and established one hundred laws, which were called the Body of Liberties. They had been composed by Mr. Nathaniel Ward (some time pastor of the church of Ipswich: he had been a minister in England and formerly a student and practiser in the course of the common law) and had been revised and altered by the Court and sent forth into every town to be further considered of, and now again in this Court, they by that experience to have them full amended and established to be perpetual."[28] The text of the Body of Liberties was not incorporated into the records, but a manuscript copy is preserved in the Boston Athenaeum in a volume of manuscripts once the property of Elisha Hutchinson, the grandfather of Governor Thomas Hutchinson.[29]

When the news reached England that the Massachusetts colonists had passed a body of fundamental laws, some anonymous friend of Cotton jumped to the conclusion that it was his code that had been adopted, and published it under the title of "An Abstract of the Lawes of New England,

as they are now established." This tract, bearing the date 1641, gave Cotton's code an undeserved reputation until the discovery of the Athenaeum manuscript. It is now clear that Cotton's work was never, even in part, enacted into law, and that it had no influence whatever on the Body of Liberties that was adopted. Yet it is interesting to compare the work of Ward and Cotton, for Cotton's code is so obviously the work of a clergyman, and soe xactly what the popular misconception of the Puritan character would like to think representative of the Puritan period. It is of Biblical origin and supported by scriptural references throughout.

The Body of Liberties had rightly earned the praise of jurists since its creation. It suggests in tone and spirit the Declaration of 1775 and the rights expressed in the first ten amendments to the Federal Constitution. Based solidly on English Common Law and not the Bible, it is without scriptural references except in support of the first eleven of the Capital Laws; and when we remember the reluctance of the Puritans to shed human blood without warrant from the Bible this is not strange. The twelfth Capital Law which defines treason to the state is not supported by scripture. Ward tells us in The Simple Cobler that he had read almost all the common law of England,[30] a statement that is amply supported by the legal soundness of the Liberties. It is as progressive a piece of legislation as the century produced. The civil laws it contained were in particular far in advance of English practice of the day, and were in principle incorporated in all succeeding codifications. Several form the basis of modern statutes and are commonplaces of present day

practice. Therefore the code does not seem to us as farsighted or advanced as it would could we look at it through the eyes of the seventeenth century. Yet its enlightened thought is the foundation on which the great democratic documents of the Revolutionary period were constructed.

It is not necessary to go into the Body of Liberties in detail, but a few may be mentioned as reflecting the legal capacity and character of Ward. The preamble has already been cited at the opening of this chapter. Its high literary quality cannot be questioned, and its simple and clear diction is characteristic of the document as a whole. It is to be regretted that its fine phrases are not better known. The first Liberty guarantees life, liberty, and property against any but due processes of law in the following words: "No mans life shall be taken away, no mans honour or good name shall be stayned, no mans person shall be arested, restrayned, banished, dismembred, nor any wayes punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no mans goods or estaite shall be taken away from him, nor any way indammaged under coulor of law or Countenance of Authorities, unlesse it be by vertue or equitie of some expresse law of the Country waranting the same, established by a generall Court and sufficiently published." The second Liberty assures all, foreigner and citizen equally, the same justice "without partialitie or delay." The eleventh states that "All person which are of the age of 21 yeares, and of right understanding and meamories, whether excommunicate or condemned shall have full power and libertie to make there wills and testaments, and other lawfull alienations of theire lands and estates."

This is a commonplace of to-day, but at a time when excommunication or criminal condemnation deprived an individual of nearly all legal protection including the right of property, it was a farsighted step. Except in the face of specific laws to the contrary every defendant is given his choice of trial by bench or jury, and he is assured the right to challenge jurors, as well as the right to appeal. No inhuman, barbarous, or cruel punishments shall be allowed, and "No man shall exercise any Tirranny or Crueltie towards any bruite Creature which are usuallie kept for man's use." Not without humor for the modern reader, but nevertheless a definite advance over the English law of its day is the liberty ordering that "Everie marryed woeman shall be free from bodilie correction or stripes by her husband, unlesse it be in his owne defence upon her assalt." The liberties of children and servants might also be cited to show that in its humane aspects Ward's code progressed beyond contemporary custom in England. Among the "Liberties more peculiarlie concerning the free men" three are significant as showing the true relation that existed between church and state in early Puritan Massachusetts. "Civil Authoritie hath power and libertie to see the peace, ordinances and Rules of Christ observed in every church according to his word. so it be done in a Civill and not in an Ecclesiastical way." Although this statute certainly left the door ajar to civil interference with church establishments, the two liberties that follow it guard the individual in his civil capacity from the hand of the church. "Civill Authoritie hath power and libertie to deale with any Church member in a way of civill Justice, notwithstanding any Church relation, office, or interest."

"No church censure shall degrad ordepose any man from any Civill dignitie, office, or Authoritie he shall have in the Commonwealth."

As might be expected the twelve Capital Laws forming the ninety-fourth liberty are less advanced in theory, for they are reflections of the Mosaic code. They and the liberties that concern the church and its organization are the product of contemporary circumstances, and as such are less reflective of the essentially progressive quality of Ward's mind. Yet only by reading the complete document can its full significance be realized. Such an analysis makes clear the conditions under which the code was produced, and by contrast the student is able to appreciate the astonishing breadth of vision that Nathaniel Ward brought to its composition.

As has been stated previously, Ward's original draft undoubtedly underwent some amendment and revision, yet such alterations seem to have been slight. Certain irregularities in style, especially in the liberties referring to the church, may indicate to the careful student possible revisions, but the document as a whole seems to be the work of one hand. Only one case of altered wording is definitely known. Thomas Letchford, who was hired to make copies of Ward's draft, tells us that at his suggestion a change was made in one of the sections dealing with the gathering of churches. His objection, which was on the ground that the wording was illogical, was sustained, and his suggested alteration can be traced in the final draft.[31] This change is, however, slight and affects only the wording. In the main there is no reason to suppose that the Body of Liberties is not essentially the work of Nathaniel Ward. Doubtless in the process of composition

he received suggestions from others, the case could not very well be otherwise; but beyond question his spirit and mind dominated its shaping, and his genius gave it its literary and statesman-like qualities.

The importance of Nathaniel Ward in the early political history of our country can not be overestimated. It can be fairly said that he laid the cornerstone of American legal practice, if not of American independence. Certainly the democratic spirit that runs through his work is essentially an American one. His name deserves a place in the first rank of our early statesmen, and his Body of Liberties must be included among our great state papers, for it made its influence felt in all future legal practice and legislation, and was unquestionably a directing force in the early and critical years of American political life.

Notes to Chapter V

1 The best edition of the Body of Liberties is the one included in Whitmore's The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts. This is a facsimile of the Hutchinson Manuscript with a line-for-line printed version. All quotations from the Liberties are based on this edition. The Body of Liberties has also been printed as no. 164 of the Old South Leaflets.

2 Mass. Col. Rec. i:12.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid i:79

5 Winthrop, i:128.

6 Ibid.

7 Whitmore's Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, p. 4.

8 Mass. Col. Rec. i:117-119.

9 Winthrop i:132.

10 Mass. Hist. Soc. Pro. 58:452.

11 Winthrop i:142.

12 Mass. Hist. Soc. Pro. 58:456.

13 Winthrop i:158.

14 Mass. Hist. Soc. Pro. 58:456.

15 Mass. Col. Rec. i:147.

16 Winthrop i:177-179. With Vane came Hugh Peters, and on January 18, 1635, these two were instrumental in gathering at Boston for purposes of informal conference some of the leading men of the colony. In addition to Vane and Peters there were present Haynes,

Bellingham, Cotton, Hooker, Wilson, Winthrop, and Dudley. The ostensible purpose of the meeting was to heal the differences that existed between Winthrop and Dudley, but as neither of these gentlemen would admit that any differences existed, the conference was largely given over to an indictment by Haynes of Winthrop's policies of government. Winthrop's account of the affair is too long to quote here, but it shows that differences of opinion between the parties were sharp and bitter. It sheds an interesting light upon the condition of affairs.

17 Mass. Col. Rec. i:174-5.

18 Winthrop i:202.

19 Mass. Col. Rec. i:222.

20 This statement in respect to Bellingham needs, perhaps, a word of qualification. It is clear from the records that Bellingham threw his support to the deputies in their contest with the magistrates. He had, in fact, been a deputy in 1634 before his election as deputy governor in 1635. Yet he does not seem at this time to have interested himself in the matter of codified laws.

21 Mass. Col. Rec. i:279.

22 Winthrop i:322-3.

23 Northend's The Bay Colony p. 215.

24 Mass. Hist. Soc. Pro. 58:447.

25 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th, vii:26.

26 Winthrop ii:35-36.

27 Mass. Col. Rec. i:321; i:340.

28 Winthrop ii:55.

29 The authenticity of this copy has been so carefully analyzed and

proved that it seems unnecessary to go into a discussion of it here. A clear presentation of the facts that bear on the question will be found in Whitmore's introduction to his Colonial Laws of Massachusetts p. 10 ff.

30 Simple Cobler p. 66.

31 In Lechford's Plain Dealing (pp. 72-74) we find the following: "Whereas you have been pleased to cause me to transcribe certain Breviats of Propositions delivered to the generall Court, for the establishing a body of Lawes, as is intended, for the glory of God, and the welfare of this People and Country; and published the same, to the intent that any man may acquaint you or the Deputies for the next Court, what he conceives fit to be altered or added, in or unto the said lawes; I conceive it my duty to give you timely notice of some things of great moment, about the same Lawes, in discharge of my conscience, which I shall, as Amicus curiae, pray you to present with all faithfulnesse, as is proposed, to the next generall Court, by it, and the reverend Elders, to be further considered of, as followeth:-

1. It is propounded to be one of the chiefe part of the charge, or office of the Councell intended, to take care that the conversion of the Natives be endeavored.

2. It is proposed, as a liberty, that a convenient number of Orthodox Christians, allowed to plant together in this Jurisdiction, may gather themselves into a Church, and elect and ordaine their Officers, men fit for their places, giving notice to seven of the next Churches, one month before thereof, and of

their names, and that they may exercise all the ordinances of God according to his Word, and so they proceede according to the rule of God, and shall not be hindered by any Civill power: nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered.

This clause (nor will the Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered) doth as I conceive contradict the first proposition."

It would seem that Lechford paraphrased the propositions, but in any case his objection was met. (See Liberty 95). It is a commentary on the legal soundness of the proposed code, that Lechford, himself a trained and practicing lawyer, found nothing but this trivial alteration to suggest. This is especially noteworthy since he was by no means sympathetic with the aims and ideals of the colony.

Chapter VI

THE DISCONTENTED EXILE

1645-1646

The settlement of New England presents many unique features to the student of colonization. Normally one would have expected this region to remain untenanted, save for meager fishing and trading communities, until the southern colonies expanded slowly up the Atlantic seaboard. This actually promised to be the case until chance lodged the Pilgrims at Plymouth. In the previous decade the coast had been explored, charted, and abortive attempts made at settlements for trading purposes.[1] Apart from its fisheries and its timber, and the prospect of wresting some small part of the Indian trade from the strongly entrenched Dutch at New Amsterdam, the section offered little in the way of economic exploitation. The usual phenomena of colonial expansion are seen in their truer form in Virginia and South America. Here the trading post and the fort came on the heels of exploration. Only when years of slow economic progress had brought stability and order did culture and intellectual centers emerge.

The forces that brought about the rapid development of New England, however, were not the natural forces of colonization. Probably not a tenth part of the emigrants who came to America with Bradford and Winthrop sought or expected to better their economic conditions. Many of them came at an actual sacrifice. Even the commoner sort, in the main, sold farm or leasehold in old England.

Certainly it can be said of the leaders that had religious and political conditions in England offered even a moderate prospect of clearing, not one would have remotely considered leaving England; and without strong leadership few of the rank and file would have stirred. The settlement of New England presents many of the phenomena of a refugee migration. The first reflection of this is seen in the character of the settlers themselves. They were not largely of the pioneer stamp. The leading spirits, at least, were religious enthusiasts for whom material advantage held a secondary place. Again the average of their intellectual capacity was amazingly high. The large percent of university graduates among them is indicative -- a university is not the usual training ground of the frontiersman. As a result, the settlements they made were not, and had not the character of, pioneer outposts in anything but a physical sense. They were transplanted English communities, where the class distinctions of the old country were expected to hold, where culture and intellectual activity were to go on unbroken. Such a prospect was, of course, immediately challenged by the physical and economic necessities that had to be faced; and it was further modified by the peculiar part religious thought played in the whole movement. But had the flood of immigration not continued, the rapid growth of the colony if not its permanence would have been doubtful.

All of these circumstances made it inevitable that there should be in the colony many individuals unfitted temperamentally for pioneer or even colonial life: men who did not realize or who underestimated the difference between the Old England and the New. To such

could come only disillusionment and discontent; yet the very forces that had sent them over here acted as a barrier against their return. For the time being they remained, and made their presence felt in various ways. The continual shifting of whole congregations from one settlement to another is one physical manifestation of this element.[2] The economic force at work was the poor quality or unavailability of land, but leadership involved the personal equation, and the men who headed these movements were largely leaders of discontent. Among them we must place Nathaniel Ward. It is with the causes and natures of his personal attitude and with the events that flowed from that attitude that we must now more specifically deal.

The most important economic factor in the new colony was land. At first glance the commodity would seem only too abundant, but the lack of transportation facilities materially altered the situation. Again the rapid inflow of settlers caused congestion. The magistrates had early assumed authority over the distribution of holdings, and sought to regulate the location and growth of outlying towns. Circumstances quickly complicated this task until it taxed the limits of human perspicacity. The local geography was only imperfectly known, and the quality of the land was often overestimated while the steadily increasing population tended to concentrate in the older settlements. The danger of Indian wars dictated the gathering of the houses into compact villages with the farms that supported them often lying miles from the houses that sheltered their owners. Since the magistrates were gifted with only human vision, their allotments often were unsatisfactory and resulted in hardship. It was

impossible always to know the character of the individual settlers, and the social fabric in places became strained. We must believe, too, that there were many undesirable, even dissolute, persons among the later settlers, an element that was augmented by the numbers of indentured servants freed from their bonds by the financial inability of their masters to support them.[3] These, acquiring land and hence a social position they were unaccustomed to, soon caused forebodings among the more conservative element in each newly created town. Winthrop, in the early years when he was wielding an almost autocratic authority, was doubtless careless and lax in dealing with these problems, but censure must be tempered by an honest realization of the difficulties that faced him.

Apart from the land question, one other factor must be particularly noted. The colony was not for many years a selfsupporting community. The individual settlers and the financial backers of the company spent liberally in the early days.[4] There was no manufacturing; clothing, utensils, tools, building material must be transported at high cost from England. Even food was largely an imported commodity. For the individual, the cost of living in the colony was generally greater than any income that might be gained. Massachusetts Bay was no harbor for a poor man, as Thomas Dudley, writing in 1631 to the Countess of Lincoln, bluntly states. The following short passage from that letter makes this, as well as the dangers of a too great optimism, manifest.

"In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envied, but endure much to be pitied in the sickness and mortality of our people. And I do

the more willingly use the open and plain dealing, lest other men should fall short of their expectations when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did, by means of letters sent us from hence into England, wherein honest men, out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here. If any godley men, out of religious ends, will come over to help us in the good work we are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their own reckoning. But they must not be of the poorer sort yet, for divers years; for we have found by experience that they have hindered, not furthered the work. And for profane and debauched persons, their oversight in coming hither is much wondered at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there be any endued with grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come over into our Macedonia and help us, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profitable employment. For others, I conceive they are not yet fitted for this business."[5]

By 1634 when Ward reached America, the permanence of the colony had been established, and the first dangers of settlement were over. But the land question had become acute and was of first interest in the colony. The cost of living was still high, provisions were costly and still largely imported from England. To Nathaniel Ward both of these problems were soon to become of immediate personal concern.

In the first place, it is certain that Ward was not a man of

independent means. The terms of his father's will and his matriculation at Emmanuel as sizar prove that he inherited little property. With his marriage there apparently came a change, for we have seen that he spent seven years in the study of law in London, and followed this with four years of travel abroad apparently without any occupation that involved large income. There is no hint of poverty in what we know of his life at Stondon. But from the time of his arrival in America until his departure the echo of straitened circumstances is frequent and unmistakable. The obvious conclusion is that his wife brought him some property, but that this was either dissipated, or was in some form of income that ceased with her death, since her death and his departure for New England very nearly coincided. As early as 1635 we find him, in the letter to young Winthrop already quoted, expressing his lack of even the necessities of life, and at the same time indicating his dependence upon his church. He pays tribute to the leanness of a New England purse in the Simple Cobler.[6] In the same work he cries out against the idea of voluntary support of the ministers,[7] an idea that his friend John Cotton had advocated from the pulpit in 1639.[8] All of these facts show conclusively that among the problems he met in the new world poverty was an omnipresent one.

The same conclusion is reached if we study his known sources of revenue. His church office was put aside by 1636/7, and presumably any regular income from the parish ceased at that time. In 1636 he received a legacy of ten pounds from one of his parishioners. His insistent efforts to secure payment of the bequest from a dilatory

executor indicates his need of it.[9] His services to the state were paid for by at least one and probably two grants of land, six hundred acres in each grant. There is much obscurity about these land grants, and some interesting speculations grow out of this obscurity. The subject will be more fully discussed later; for the moment it is enough to note that he received no financial return from them until his departure. On his arrival at Ipswich he received a house lot where he erected a house, the cost of which must have cut deeply into his limited means. He also was granted a farm the extent of which is not known. It was probably an outlying tract.[10] No exact record of this farm remains, nor do we know what he realized from it when he left. But it was probably this farm that produced the major part of his income during his stay in New England. These known sources of income seem inadequate to his expenses. From the time that he gave up his pulpit until the arrival of his son John in 1639 his circumstances must have been narrow indeed. He apparently went deeply into debt, for we have it on the authority of Cotton Mather that John Ward dutifully discharged some sizable obligations of his father.[11] It would seem that during the latter part of his stay Nathaniel Ward was to a large extent dependent upon his son, who seems to have had some means.

Poverty to a man of Nathaniel Ward's training and temperament would be a heavy cross under any circumstances; in the Massachusetts Bay Colony of 1636 it must have been peculiarly galling. His varied education as well as his continental travels made him the intellectual equal of any man in the colony, and Ward beneath his self-distrust was proud. Abroad and in England he had associated with people of wealth

and refinement, nor was he unacquainted with the amenities of court life. His mind, as we have seen, was not one that took kindly to democratic theories, and in Massachusetts democracy was speaking in a voice of no uncertain pitch. This democratic spirit was already affecting the social structure. It is not strange that Ward felt the disadvantages of his position keenly. Politically and ecclesiastically he was in the minority, and his popularity lay where he least cared to have it, among the common people whose legal rights and liberties he championed, with what misgivings we have already seen. If his personal affairs were conducive to discontent there were also many things in his changing environment at Ipswich further to darken his mood.

The settlement of Ipswich under the leadership of the younger Winthrop was in part due to a groundless fear of French encroachment from the north. The land about Agawam was rich and fertile and the river gave access to the sea. For these reasons the site was considered a strategic one, although the advantages of the location were probably rather over estimated. At best the town could develop into little more than a fishing village, although there was some coastal and foreign commerce at first. The river was icebound throughout the winter, a serious disadvantage to a commercial center. The quality of the first settlers was high, and to the new town came others whose names represent the best leadership of the colony. Nathaniel Ward came a year after the founding of the town, and was followed by Dudley and Bradstreet, the two men with wom Ward seems to have been most intimately connected. All three of these men were probably much in-

fluenced by the younger Winthrop in making Ipswich their home. But the young leader seems soon to have lost interest in the town, and his long absences and ultimate departure brought changes. The character of the newer settlers who were coming in left something to be desired. Ward's letter to Winthrop in 1635 again is authoritative in showing how keen was the feeling against the latter's dereliction. Even as early as this Ward hints at a desire to remove, although it was probably little more than a threat at the time. But that part of the letter that speaks of the influx of undesirable settlers is of serious importance. The phrasing and the naming of Dudley indicate clearly that the two men had been active in an effort to mend matters by restricting the granting of house lots, and by exerting some sort of censorship over the character of new settlers to be admitted. Such action brought criticism and ill feeling. That matters did not improve, later events plainly show. Ward laid down his ministry in 1636/7, and in 1639 Dudley removed to Dorchester. With the coming of his son John, and the marriage of his daughter to Firmin in the same year, Nathaniel Ward found fresh reasons for thinking seriously of leaving Ipswich. The land assigned to Firmin was distant to the point of inaccessibility, and his profession of medicine "but a meane helpe." John Ward was seeking a pastorate which certainly could not be found at Ipswich. Under these circumstances Nathaniel Ward turned all his energies to the problem of a new settlement where his children might find a common home. Characteristically, he assumed complete leadership in the affair. Ignoring the desires of his son and son-in--law, who seem to have been only luke warm on the subject, he sought to impose his own will. The two younger men, however, ultimately

followed their own individual paths. Disillusioned by his experience at Ipswich, the elder Ward does not seem to have considered seeking new pastoral fields for himself; perhaps he was already watching affairs in England with the thought of return. However, his efforts bore fruit in the ultimate settlement of Andover and Haverhill.

The fertile valley of the Merrimack River had early attracted the attention of the colonists, but no formal settlement had been made there.[12] It was to this region northwest of Ipswich that Nathaniel Ward turned his eyes. With the Body of Liberties completed, in the fall of 1639 he took definite steps toward the accomplisment of his new designs. In his letter to Governor Winthrop on December 22, 1639,[13] he makes his first formal overtures.

"The other is that you would not passe your promise, nor give any incouragement concerning any plantation att Quichichacke, or Penticutt, till myself & some others either speake or write to you about it, which shalbe done so soone as our counsilles & contrivalls are ripened. In too much hast, I comitt you & your affaires to the guidance of God, in whom I rest." Who the "some others" were is not certain.[14] Probably Simon Bradstreet was one of the interested parties, for he later became identified with the Andover settlement. It is clear from the letter that plans were in a formative stage, and that Ward and his followers were hesitating between the two sites that later became Andover and Haverhill respectively. As we have seen, these activities, so far as Ward was concerned, were largely for the benefit of his son and son-in-law. The latter seems to have been the more active of the younger men in the prosecution of the plan.

Four days after the above communication Firmin himself wrote to Winthrop in more detail.

Much honoured and deare Sir:

But that I thinke it needlesse (God having more than ordinarye fitted you for such trials) my letter might tell you with what griefe of spirit I received the news of that sad affliction which is lately happened to your worship, by means of that unfaithful wretch; I hope God will find a shoulder to helpe you beare so great a burthen. But the little time there is allotted me to write I must spend in requesting your worships counsel and favour. My father-in-law Ward, since his sonne came over, is varey desirous that wee might sett down together, and so that he might leave us together if God should remove him from hence. Because that it cannot be accomplished in this town, is verey desirous to get me to remove with him to a new plantation. After much perswasion used, consideringe my want of accommodation here, (the ground the town having given mee lying 5 miles from mee or more) and that the gaines of physick will not finde me with bread, but, besides, apprehendinge that it might bee a way to free him from some temptations, and make him more cheerful and serviceable to the country or church, have yielded to him. Herein as I desire your counsel, so I humbly request your favour, that you would be pleased to give us the libertye of choosinge a plantation; wee thinke it will be at Pentuckett, or Quichichchek, by Shawshin: So soon as the season will give us leave to goe, wee shall informe your worship which we desire: And if that, by the courte of election, we cannot gather a company to beegine it, wee will let it fail. Wee

desire you would not graunt any of them to any before wee have seene them. If your worship have heard any relation of the places, wee should remaine thankful to you, if you would bee pleased to counsel us to any of them. Further I would entreate for advise in this. The towne gave mee the ground (100 acres) upon this condition, that I should stay in the towne 3 yeeres, or else I could not sell it: Now my father supposes it being my first heritage (my father having none in the land) that it is more than they canne doe to hinder me thus, when as others have no business, but range from place to place, on purpose to live upon the countrey. I would entreate your counsel whether or noe I canne sell it. Further: I am strongly sett upon to studye divinitie, my studyes else must be lost: for physick is but a meene helpe. In these cases I humbly referre to your worship, as my father, for your counsel, and so in much haste with my best services presented to your worship, wishinge you a strong support in your affliction, and a good and comfortable issue, I rest

Your worships in what he canne to his power,

Gyles Fyrmin

Ipswich, 26, 10th, 1639.

We humbly entreate your secrecye in our desires.[16]

This curious and interesting letter is illuminating in many ways. It is obvious that Firmin's own judgment and desire do not wholly accord with the plans of his father-in-law; but that he has yielded to the pressure of the older man, largely for the sake of the latter's peace of mind. Ward's mood is dark and he is beset with temptations. Firmin bends to the mood rather than to the argument.

In replying to this letter Winthrop seems to have advised against the proposed settlement, or at least against Firmin's participation in it. Nathaniel Ward held firmly to his purpose, even though the younger men, who were disinclined to go against the advice of the chief magistrate, wavered. The extent to which he was willing to go in order to enforce his will is indicated in a letter by Firmin to Winthrop, apparently in answer to the governor's reply to the letter just quoted. In part, Firmin wrote as follows: "For the letter which your worship sent mee & for your undeserved love therein manifested, I humbly thanke you. Your counsell carriinge reason & your owne experience in it I cannot set light by, havinge beene a means to calm my disquiett thoughtes, & to stopp them in their hurrye: my ffather-in-law still holdes his owne & would yet have mee rise from hence, my brother Ward wavers much but ratherd eclines it, from your arguments, & some others which wee finde out together; howsoever, if time will give us leave (the Lord willinge) some of us will view Pentuckett in the springe, because every one that hath seene it give it such large commendations for a small towne; the way also thither beeing passable for a great pinnace; onely my feare is that Passatonnaway livinge there sometimes, hee will hardly be bought out with a little. My brother Ward hath beene offered the place at Marblehead, when the minister goeth away to Jefferies Creeke who is there. The message was first done to my ffather Ward who should have enformed my brother of it, but he kept it in his ownb reast, & did not reveale it till long after by accedent hee heard of it; so that now hee fears the opportunity is slipt; divers enticements hee hath to returne to

England, but his wife is utterlye against it; & hee is willinge, if hee might but have any employment, to stays till. If your worship did but put in a word for him, if you thinke the place conveniente for him, your word would doe much: he did helpe at Rowlye, but because hee was not in covenant, some took offence, & hee layed it downe at my uncles desire, & his church, who else would gladly (have) enjoyed his helpe."[16] This letter carries the date of February 12, 1639/40. It shows that at least a choice had been made between the proposed sites, and that it is Pentuckett (Haverhill) that is desired. One reason for this choice seems to have been that it was suitable for a "small" town: as we shall see later Ward desired that the new settlement might be of limited extent; he was averse to the magistrate's policy of laying out extended townships with large grants of land. His act in keeping to himself the opening for his son at Marblehead arouses mixed emotions in the reader. It was a position that his son apparently would have been glad to consider. Ward realized this and, doubtful of his influence over his son, suppressed the message. He was successful in his purpose of keeping his son from settling at Marblehead; perhaps he was wise in doing so, but his act could not but have further alienated his son's support of his own plans. Firmin's letter makes it clear that both he and John Ward were more inclined to trust the advice of Governor Winthrop than the dictation of Nathaniel Ward.

Ward, however, continued to press his plans. Soon after Firmin's letter, he himself wrote to Winthrop, and his letter indicates something of his motives and his plans. The communication

is without date, but it was manifestly written between the date of his son-in-law's letter and May 13, 1640.

To the Worshipfull our Governour att Boston

Sir:-

We are bold to continue our suite concerning the plantation I lately mentioned to you; our company increases space from divers townes, of very desirable men, whereof we desire to be very choise: this next weeke, if God hinder us not, we purpose to view the places & forthwith to resort to you, & in the meane tyme we crave your secrecy & rest

Your Worships

Ne: Warde

We have alreddy more than 20 families of very good Christians, purposed to goe with us, if God will, & we heare of more.

Our neighbour townes are much greived to see the lavish liberality of the Court in giving away the Countrye. Some honest men of our towne affirme that in their knowledge there are 68 townes in England, within as little compasse as the bounds of Ipswich: I knowe neere 40- where I dwelt- Rowley is larger than Ipswich, 9 or 10 miles longe, & will have other plantations within it, tributaries to it, & intend as we heare, to stretch their wings much farther yet, & will spoile Qutchicoute utterly, if not Pentucket. We earnestly pray you to prevent it. We shuld incourage many to come over, if many plantations were not spoiled by the extreame largnes of those already given. Our purpose is to have no great bounds.[17]

The progress Ward had made in his plans is indicated by the number of prospective settlers already enrolled, and also by the design to visit the proposed locations within the week. But it is the material in the postscript that reflects most light on the motives that were actuating the leader. Ward's model was the English village as he had known it: small, compact, and unified. His whole scheme is a criticism of the laying out of large plantations. There was much soundness in his position. The enlargement of Rowley that he warned against did actually take place; and had later to be undone. As Ward predicted, it hampered and delayed the settlement of Cochichawick (Andover). Ten years later the territory was taken from Rowley and given to Andover.[18] The policy of the magistrates in granting land was doubtless too liberal, for nearly every one of the towns laid out was eventually divided. If Winthrop and his followers projected a system of large estates held by a landed class, the economic conditions of the time and the spirit of the settlers defeated it. Ward's ideas -- as so many of his ideas were fated to be -- were justified only by the future. His letter shows, too, that the leaders of the enterprise were taking great care in the selection of their personnel. A small compact town, the land of which should be fully taken up by men of sound Christian character, thus preventing any further influx of settlers that might bring undesirable changes such as had troubled him at Ipswich -- this was the dream of Nathaniel Ward. The pleasant story of his son's long pastorate at Haverhill was to be in some degree a fulfillment of that dream.

The proposed trip of exploration was probably made. In

imagination at least we may picture a great pinnace creeping slowly up the forest fringed Merrimack and landing its little party on the broad meadows of Pentucket. Whether Nathaniel Ward accompanied the expedition is not known, but it is not unlikely. Both Pentucket and Cochichawick were probably visited. At the next session of the General Court, May 13, 1640, the "desires" of the company were duly made known and the following entry of them made. "The desires of Mr. Ward & Newberry men is committed to the Governor, Deputy Governor, & Mr. Winthrope, Senior, to consider of Pentucket & Coiichawick, & to grant it them, provided they returne answere within three weeks from the 21st present, & build there before the next courte."[19] Very shortly after this, for the season was already late for planting, the first company of settlers made their way to Pentucket. They were twelve in number, eight from Newbury and four from Ipswich, although several of the Newbury men had at one time been identified with Ipswich.[20] The name of Nathaniel Ward does not find a place in this list, nor do those of his son or son-in-law. His name however continued linked with the new town. At the Court held October 7, 1640, a committee is appointed "to view the bounds between Colchester & Mr. Wards plantation."[21] And at the court held in the following June men are named "to set bounds between Salsberry & Pantucket, ali: Haverell. They are to determine the bounds which Mr. Ward & his company are to injoy as a towne or village if they have 6 houses up by the next General Court in the 8th mo."[22] This reference to six houses, seems to be a statement of the minimum number necessary to constitute a town rather than an indication that there were not that number already built.[23]

Thus in the large, Ward's plans for a new settlement succeeded, but the motivating desire that it might be the common home of his children was not accomplished. Giles Firmin stayed at Ipswich, holding for a time the office of clerk of writs for the town. Governor Winthrop advised his removal to the Bay, but he seems to have remained in Ipswich until his departure from the country in the autumn of 1644. He apparently left his wife and three children in the care of his father-in-law.[24] As we have seen from Firmin's letter quoted above, John Ward had left Ipswich early in 1640 and was assisting his father's step-brother Ezekiel Rogers in his church at Rowley. From there he seems to have gone to Newbury, although there is nothing to show that he was connected with the church there.[25] On February 23, 1641, Thomas Gorges writing from Aggameticos (York, Maine) to John Winthrop says, "We have sent younge Mr. Ward of Newbury a call. I hope the Lord will be assistinge to us in it."[26] The identity of "Younge Mr. Ward" as well as his acceptance of the call is indicated in the following passage from Winthrop's journal under the date of April 13th, "Mr. Peter and Mr. Dalton, with one of Acomenticus, went from Piscataquack, with Mr. John Ward, who was to be entertained there for their minister; and though it be but six miles, yet they lost their way, and wandered two days and one night without food or fire, in the snow and wet. But God heard their prayers, wherein they earnestly pressed him for the honour of his great name, and when they were even quite spent, he brought them to the sea side near the place they were going to, blessed forever be his name."[27]

John Ward remained at Agamenticus only a few months, and if he preached there it was probably informally, for there seems to have

been no regularly gathered church there until much later.[28] There is abundant evidence that he returned to Ipswich late the same year, and went from there to the new settlement at Haverhill.[29] The earliest mention of him in the records of that town show that on September 29th, 1642, there were "sixteen acres of land laid out to him for a home-lot, with all the accommodations thereunto belonging."[30] He probably commenced his pastoral duties at once although he was not formally ordained or the church organized until 1645.[31] In this same year the town was incorporated under the name of Haverhill. This name, which we have seen was applied to the settlement as early as 1640, in the Colonial Records, was probably selected to honour the birth place of Nathaniel Ward and his son in old England. John Ward remained at Haverhill for the rest of his long life, dying there December 27, 1693.

There is no indication that Nathaniel Ward ever seriously considered joining the settlement he had been instrumental in founding. Only one other fact connecting him with Haverhill remains to be noted. The General Court of December 10, 1641 granted him "600 acres ofland where it may not prejudice a plantation."[32] This grant was unquestionably made in recognition of his work in drafting the Body of Liberties. John Cotton received a like grant at the same time. No specific locality is named in this entry, it was in effect merely a call on the magistrates for that amount of land. The records for May 10, 1643, show that "Mr. Natha: Ward is granted his farme of 600 acres, as neere Pentucket as may conveniently bee, to bee layed out by Sr[illegible] Bowlet, of Ipswich, Joseph Jewet of Rowley, & Philip Challice of Salsbry."[33]

These are the only grants of land to Nathaniel Ward to be found in the records, and the phrasing suggests that they refer to the same property. The fate of this grant, or grants, will be considered later, but it is certain that Ward made no personal exploitation of his land.

The year 1643 was an eventful one in the colony, and Ward's attention turned from his personal concerns to the public events that were stirring about him. On May 10th of this year, delegates from Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and the New Haven colonies met at Boston where they drew up and signed a compact of confederation.[34] Union between the English Colonies of New England had long been considered, but religious and economic jealousies had up to this time prevented conclusive action. Although Ward's name is not connected with the movement, he must, as a lawyer, have been interested in it, especially since both Dudley and Bradstreet were on the committee that drew up the agreement. Bradstreet was still at Ipswich, and Ward doubtless kept in close touch with events. It is not beyond the limits of the imagination to conceive that his influence made itself felt through his friend.

On June 12, about a month after the signing of the Articles of Confederacy, an event occurred that threw Massachusetts Bay into a state of almost hysterical excitement, and brought down on the head of Winthrop the censure of the other members of the confederation. In this controversy Ward took an active if not a leading part. On June 12, M. La Tour, whose long quarrel with D'Aulnay for control of the French settlement at Port Royal had been one of the storm clouds that had led to the New England Confederation, appeared in Boston

Harbour. Arriving in a large ship of 140 tons, he took a pilot from an English boat he encountered off the coast and, before a fair wind sailed up the bay, saluting with his cannon the fort that, silent and abandoned, watched what might well have been an invading ship pass swiftly and unchallenged into the safety of the harbour. The state of unpreparedness thus revealed was one of the causes of the storm of criticism that ensued.

But La Tour's purpose was happily not one of aggression. He came to solicit aid against his rival, D'Aulnay, who had blocked the mouth of the St. John with a superior force. La Tour sought the support of Massachusetts in an effort to dislodge his enemy. He was courteously received by Governor Winthrop, and tasted the hospitality of many of the leading Boston merchants. At his own request he was permitted to land his men at a muster in Boston where they exhibited their dexterity in the manual of arms in company with the colonial forces. Although a Catholic, he accompanied the governor to church, and in all ways sought to win the good will of the magistrates and chief citizens.

The day following his arrival, Winthrop had "called together such of the magistrates as were at hand, and some of the deputies"[35] to make answer to the Frenchman's request for aid. After duly inspecting La Tour's official papers, and considering the merits of the venture, the magistrates under the lead of Winthrop decided: "Though we could not grant him aid without advice of the other commissioners of our confederacy, yet we thought it not fit nor just to hinder any that would be willing to be hired to aid him; and accordingly we answered

him that we would allow him a free mercate, that he might hire any ships which lay in our harbour, &c."[36]

It would seem that common sense alone should have shown the folly and danger of meddling in what was essentially a private quarrel between rivals of a foreign nation; but other forces than common sense were at work. There can be little doubt that the influence that was responsible for this impolitic and unpopular decision came from the merchants of Boston, especially the governor's close friends, Major Gibbons and Captain Hawkins. Their motives were purely of self interest. Not only would they gain from the hire of their vessels, but should La Tour unseat his rival by the aid rendered, they hoped that trading concessions would open to them some share of the rich barter in Canadian furs. However, apart from this small merchant group, the decision of the magistrates found little favor. La Tour and D'Aulnay were both Catholics, and the ministers almost to a man preached eloquently from the pulpit against lending aid to papists. The fiery Endicott with an eye to the military weakness of the colony urgedthe danger of French aggression should misadventure overtake the expedition.[37] Outside of Boston generally, and in Salem and Ipswich particularly, feeling ran high. The illegality of the governor's action as well as the real danger that might result were patent enough to eyes not blinded by greed. A deluge of criticism descended upon the head of Winthrop, who records in his Journal the heated controversy, and speaks particularly of the protest that came from Ipswich. "Those about Ipswich &c, took great offence at these proceedings, so asthree ofthe magistrates and the elders of Ipswich

and Rowley, with Mr. Nathaniel Ward, wrote a letter to the governour and assistants in the bay, and to the elders here, protesting against the proceedings, and that they would b e innocent of all the evil which might ensue &c. with divers arguments against it, whereof some were weighty, but not to the matter, for they supposed we had engaged the country in a war, as if we had permitted our ships &c. to go fight with D'Aulnay, whereas we only permitted them to be hired by La Tour to conduct him home."[38]

This protest, which arrived after the departure of the ships, aroused the wrath of Winthrop, wringing from him a sharp retort. Although bearing only five signatures, the protest unquestionably represents the opinion of a great many of the freemen. It sums up clearly and ably the arguments against the magistrates' action. To what extent the document is the joint production of the five men whose names were appended to it is unknown; but to anyone familiar with the style of Nathaniel Ward, the hand of the Simple Cobler is visible throughout. It would perhaps be too much to say that he drew it up unaided, yet it reflects so clearly his temper and mind that the temptation to assign to him a leading part in its composition is well-nigh irresistible. The protest reads:

Much honoured in the Lord,

Though we doe, and may truly, professe ourselves to be both unfit and unwilling to interpose in a metter of such state and weight, as we conceive this French affair to bee, yet the honour we owe to the religion we professe, the loyalty we beare to our native

country, especially in its present condition and the reference wherein it stands to the kingdome of France, out of respect to the reputation of our government and governors, our tender care of the souls and lives of such as are committed to the trust thereof, the eye of care we ought to have upon our friends in the east, our regard to our christian confederates, so lately combined with us, in confidence of our piety and wisdome, and the religious discharge of our own consciences and duties, will not permit us to be silent, so long as there is any roome left for us to speake. We have little hope to revoke resolutions soe farre transacted and ripned, but we presume it shall not betaken amisse, if we labour to wash our hands wholly of this designe, and what ill consequences soever it may produce. The reasons moving us hereto, are our deepe feares that the stated rules of undertaking warres, either by proper and direct enterprize, or by lending ayd, have not been so duly observed, as we could wish.

1. The grounds of warre ought to be just and necessary. For the justice of this warre by La Tour agaynst Daulnay, we conceive that all the light and information New England hath, or may probably receive, cannot be sufficient for us to determine it possitively; we understand it has hath beene variously judged in the courts of France, one while for Daulnay, another while for la Tour, and it is not impossible that la Tour hath not rather outfriended than outpleaded Daulnay; we shall therefore runne into an unchristian premunire of presumption if we resolve upon such an enterprize with an irresolved faith, in causa dubia bellum non est suscipiendum. For the necessity of it, it must either be in point of charity towards de la Tour or

upon some engageing interest of our owne. For any bond of charity, we conceive the speech of the prophet to Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. 19.2. and of Solomon, Proverbs 26.17. not only discharge but strongly prohibite us. 1. For our owne interest, if it be cleare that Daulnay hath offered us such great wrong, as to invite us to a warre (which we much question, for it must be atrox injuria) we suppose it would stand more with the nonor of our religion and plantation, to proceed professedly and orderly against him, then for us English to become but margent notes upon a French text, which to us is as yet but apocripha; and to undertake him upon more certaine grounds, and at a more seasonable time when he doth less expect us, and is not so well provided for us as now he is. Warrs are extreme remedies and are not to be enterprised unlesse their cause will beare out all manner of effects and consequences, whether personall or nationall, which may ensue. And what may not ensue, if either of the nations to whom we belong will comment upon our action as a state language? And how apt a time this is for misconstructions we cannot be ignorant. The spirit of warre is scholastick and jesuitical, traversing the very positions and principles, which peace hath held both dogmatical and irrefragible, even to the wonderment of rational men. We are informed that Daulnay desires our friendship, and we are inclined to believe that if it did as well become him to appeal to our judgment as it ill beseemes us to expect it, he would not refuse to cast himself upon our compromise.

2. Warres ought not to be undertaken without the counsell and commend of the supreame authority, whence expeditions issue. It

is not hard to say, the present reference betweene the kingdomes of England and France considered, that the subjects of the one ought not to wage warre against the other without a publick commission of state, unlesse it be in defence upon sudden assault: Neither do we yet heare that La Tour himself hath any such commission for this his action; though if he had it were little to us. It is a rule observed among confederates, that during any league of peace between them, one friend may not ayd another against any part of his province, till that part be proscribed by the authority of a generall assembly whereof it is a member, and the confederates assured thereof in a state way. The breach of this rule is a breach of league. Publick actions of hostility worke farre and wide, having their national and confederal influences and consequences. The daggers we draw here may happly prove swords in Christendome for ought we know.

But this designe, whatever the cause was, seemed shy even of our New-English Counsel to warrant and guide it: How closely it concernes the peace and safety of the whole plantation may easily be conjectured, and how farre itdeclined the advice thereof in a representative course we are very sorry to consider or mention.

We dare not so much impeach the honour of the advisors as to think they would vaile the action with this, that they only permit and give way to volunteirs; for who knows not this to be a rule of state, that Not to forbid, when there is notice and power, is to bidd.

This were also to proclaime our weaknes, in prostrating our government to nothing; for who is ignorant that To permit voluntiers to issue out in ayd of a friend is never done without an act of state, where any state is?

Daulnay, nor France, are not so feeble in their intellectuals as to deeme it no act of state, when, upon consultation with some of our chiefe persons, our men are suffered, if not encouraged, to goe forth with our provision and munition upon the designe: We do therefore wonder that our people, having no warrant from authority, will, of their own heads, runne such a hazzard of their soules and lives, as can neither looke for any prayers or thankes for their good successe, nor any succours if it fares ill, and as it may fall out, rather call for the curses of their friends from whom they went, and of posterity yet unborne, and yet these poore men presume that if Daulnay should say, as the King of Egypt to Josiah, what have I to do with thee, thou King of Judah? I come not out against thee this day, but against the house with whome I have warre, of if they should shed innocent blood or feel their owne soules dropping suddenly into hell, they had warrant from the Counsel and countenance of those upon whom they might and ought to confide. It were to be wished they had been taught the Germane proverb which sayth, He that loseth his life in an unnecessary quarrel dyes the Devill's martyr. Had they had the voyces of the people with them, it had beene better than nothing; but that wind seemes to us to blow strong in the teeth of their voage. We shall presume to propound these questions.

1. If Daulnay or France shall hereafter demand any of them from us as enemies, or murtherers, whether will our court protect or deliver them?

2. If any of the parents or wives shall require their lives at our hands, who shall answer them? 3. If any of their widdowes or children

shall recuire sustenance, or any maimed souldier in this expedition call for maaintenance, who shall give it them? or if taken captive and made slaves, who shall rescue or redeem them?

3. The ends of warre ought to be religious: What glory is intended hereby to God we see not, and how our peace shall hereby be settled we foresee not, but suspect it will rather be a beginning than an end of our troubles and feares, if we do not wholly suppresse Daulnay, we may be sure of it. He is already very strong, and if our ships and munition fall into his hands, it will deminish from us, and incourage, exasperate and strengthen him.

If La Tour prevaile he is like to cavill with our men for some miscarriages, or we with him for non-payment. The passage of our ships to and from England hath hitherto beene quiet and safe, in regard of the French, but we cannot expect it hereafter, if they shall meete with any of La Tours or Daulnayes special friends, or at least with the friends of such of them as we shall seeme to wrong. Bellum contra hostem non est suscipiendum cum periculo reipublicae &c.

4. Undertakings of warre ought to be probably feasable, but this seemes not soe to us. We learne out of the East, by an eye witnesse, that Daulnay is very strong, in artillery, men and munition, at land, and very well provided at sea, insomuch that some of the East have consulted to repayre to him in his ayd, least he should upon revenge annoy and ruine them; he is reported to be a valiant, prudent and experienced souldier and commander, and defendants have great advantages of assaylants, soe that, we feare, our sheep have hastened to their slaughter.

3. Lastly, The manner of enterprising warre calls for many rules, according to scripture and the custome of religious and ingenuous nations, as to summon and give warning before they strike: To heare what the defendant can pleade for the justice of his cause, to offer termes of peace with equal articles, and to give special cautionary commissions and commands how farre to persist in ayd, and when to desist; but we neither can send fitt men for such charges, nor can we prescribe such directions, without a professed imbarquing orselves in action; which, it seems, is wholly declined on our parts.

We therefore trouble you no further, only we itterate our protestation that we are and desire to be held cleare and innocent of this undertaking, and

Your worships in all christian affection
and services,

Richard Saltonstall
Simon Bradstreet,
Samuel Simonds,

Nath. Warde,
Ez. Rogers,
Nath. Rogers,
John Norton, 39

5th, 14. 1643

The ordering of the signatures is hardly authoritative as regards the authorship, yet it is worth noting. The three magistrates signed first, and the order in which their names occur is indicative of their importance in the colony. It would perhaps seem natural that

the names of the three clergymen should come next, yet it is the name of Ward, who held neither magisterial nor clerical office, that follows those of the magistrates. Such an ordering suggests that Ward's part in the transaction, either as initiator or scribe dictated his precedence over the last three men. The clear reasoning, the nature of the arguments used, and above all the style itself strongly suggests the Simple Cobler. Particularly suggestive of Ward's pen are the phrases: "then for us English to become but margent notes upon a French text, which to us is as yet but apocripha," "Publick actions of hostility worke farre and wide, having their national and confederal influences and consequences." "It were to be wished they had been taught the Germane proverb, which sayth, He that loseth his life in an unnecessary quarrel dyes the Devill's martyr."

Winthrop's answer[40] is spirited to the point of tartness. "I know," he writes in part, "no law, order, custome or &c. that can give power to 3 assistants, by any such publick instrument, to contradict the proceedings of a greater number, the Governor also being one of them; and how it will consist with the obligation of a freeman is also considerable." That Winthrop was particularly conscious of Ward's share in the protest is evident from the specific reference to the "freeman", for we have seen that in the matter of the election sermon of 1641, the governor had stressed Ward's lack of official standing.

We are left to wonder what, if any, would have been the result on the decision of the magistrates had the petition reached them before they had given their answer to La Tour. Winthrop's reply,

while it is obviously an angry one written in the heat of his displeasure, seems to indicate that he was not unaware of the soundness of many of the objections raised. The results of the expedition, which proved its folly if it did not fully justify the fears of Ward and his fellow petitioners, are pages of history now, and need not detain us here.

The episode we have just discussed had its aftermath at the session of the General Court the following June. John Endicott of Salem replaced Winthrop as governor, and the deputies attempted to strip the governor and magistrates of power by setting up a commission "whereby power was given to seven of the magistrates and three of the deputies and Mr. Ward (some time pastor of Ipswich, and still a preacher) to order all affairs of the commonwealth in the vacancy of the general court."[41] This proposition seems to have originated among the deputies from Essex, and had the measure been adopted four of the ten commissioners would have been from that county.[42] Ward's part in the proposal is obscure. His inclusion on the commission may have been due to his activities in the La Tour affair, yet, since he is mentioned by name, and is the only private citizen included, it is easy to conjecture that he had some part in initiating the proposal itself. The idea was unsound, and reflects the dissatisfaction of its sponsors rather than their wisdom. It was clearly contrary to the intention of the charter -- but so had been many of the actions of Winthrop and the magistrates in the absence of the General Court. The plan, at best, was an attempt to remedy an unconstitutional situation by unconstitutional means. It

was rejected by the magistrates, and after several attempts at compromise was allowed to lapse, but it was admitted by the magistrates that the court had the power to limit, by specific act, the powers of the Governor and magistrates during the vacancy of that body. The discussion was bitter, arousing speaker Hathorne of the deputies to an open threat of disobedience. Unsound and abortive as the movement was, it shows how deeply the freemen had been stirred by a fear for their liberties, and somewhere in the background of the turmoil lurks the figure of Nathaniel Ward.

The struggle of the freemen to establish more clearly their legal rights was continued in the following year. They had obtained the Body of Liberties, they now desired to extend the codification of existing statutes. The Body of Liberties was in purport only a declaration of rights, a fundamental document that established liberties and defined bounds. The specific laws and acts of the General Court still remained scattered through the general and local records of the colony. A movement to gather these laws into a definite statute book was started at the General Court of May 14, 1645. Committees were appointed in the three several counties to collaborate to this end. "For the countye of Essex, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Bradstreete, Mr. Nath. Rogers, Mr. Norton, Mr. Ward, & Mr. Hathorne are chosen a committee to meet together to consider of & draw up a body of lawes, & to present them to the consideration of the next Generall Court."[43] The committees were not ready to report at the October meeting of the court, however. At this time some changes were made in the personnel of the committees; Bellingham, who had moved to Boston, was placed on the Boston committee, his place on the Ipswich

body being taken by Symonds. November 12th was fixed as the date on which the several committees should assemble.[44] The work of the several committees was duly presented to the court of May 22, 1646, which also ordered that the several reports be transcribed and that Bellingham, Symonds, Duncan, Johnson, and Ward meet as a committee at either Salem or Ipswich on or before August 10 to digest and combine the findings and report at the next meeting of the General Court.[45]

Whether this meeting took place or not is uncertain; it may have. But at the November court another committee is named: "Our honored Govenor, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Hibbens, Mr. Hill & Mr. Duncan, to peruse, examine, compare, transcribe, correct & commose in good order all the liberties, lawes & orders extent with us, & further to peruse & perfect all such others as are drawne up, & to present such of them as they find necessary for us."[46] Radical changes have beer made in this committee and Ward's name does not appear. From a reading of the records it seems clear that Bellingham was the leader in the movement, and its later success was largely due to his efforts. Ward's part seems to have been a minor one. He was probably occupied with other matters, chiefly the writing of "The Simple Cobler" and his preparations for returning to England. Very likely his approaching departure was the reason why he was not named on the new committee. This would suggest that public announcement was made of his plans sometime between August 10th and November 4th, 1646.

The immediate cause of his decision to return to England is unknown, but that he should reach such a decision is not strange.

He was without a parish, and we can readily believe from what we know of his religious opinions that he was not likely to hold one long in New England. His sympathies were too close to Presbyterianism and its struggle against the Independent sects to permit him to become permanently a part of the ecclesiastical establishment in Massachusetts. At the moment the Presbyterian cause in England was in the ascendancy. There was no bar now to his return, or to his hope of a living in England; in fact he may have had some assurance of preferment from the Parliamentary leaders. His son-in-law, Firmin, was already in England, and his younger brother John was a member of the Assembly of Divines.

His decision may have been a comparatively sudden one. Certainly he settled his affairs in New England with some precipitancy. On November 4th, 1646, he sought from the General Court a settlement of his dispute with Richard Saltonstall, executor of John Dillingham's estate, over the payment of a ten pound legacy which Ward asserted remained unpaid. The matter was referred to Mr. Bellingham and the Auditor General for arbitration. What their decision was is not recorded; but a study of the Essex County Probate Records suggests that Ward was the one in error.[47]

He sold his house and farm in Ipswich to Jonathan Wade of that town.[48] Neither the date of the transfer nor the amount received for the property is known. Firmin's house which stood next to Ward's had been sold earlier for the sum of thirty-two pounds; probably Ward's house brought a similar amount.[49] On November 25, he signed the following bill of sale, transferring to John Eaton of Salisbury

some property in Haverhill.

November 25 1646

This p'sent writing wittnesseth that I, Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich in New England have bargained & sould to John Eaton of Salsbury Cooper all the land ground meadow & Commonage with their app'tin c s which I have or ought to have at this p'sent Day in Haverhill or Pentuckett in New England to have and to hold the said p'misses to the said John Eaton his heires & assignes paying for the same unto the said Nathaniel Ward his executors and administr^{s} or assignes the full summe of twelve pounds of wheate & pipe-staves six pounds worth of one & six pounds worth of the other to be delivered to mr Richard Russell or Maior Desgwick at Charles Town before the end of September Next ensuying the Dat hereof; such as shalbe good & merchantable at the currant price at that tyme & place In wittnesse whereof I have set to my hand & seale.

Wittnes
Thomas Howlett

Edamn Bridges

Nath Ward[50]

If the price seems small, it becomes reasonable enough when the uncertainty of the property involved is considered. The phrase, "which I have or ought to have" certainly suggests that Ward's title had never been clearly established and recorded. Was it the farm granted him by the general court of May 10, 1643? At first glance

it would seem to be so, but on December 10th Ward gave to Harvard College some property that is specifically named as being this grant. The gift was made to satisfy a claim for twenty pounds due for the education of his son James who had graduated from the college the previous year.[51] The conveyance reads as follows:

> Dec. 10. 1646
>
> I wholly resign, grant, sell & make over all that Farm of 600 Acres given me by the General Court, lying near Andover by Merrimack, to the College at Cambridge forever.
>
> By me Nathanael Ward
>
> Acknowledges the day and year abovesaid, before me John Winthrop Govenour.[52]

It will be seen that the location given, "near Andover by Merrimack" differs from the wording of the original grant which is near Pentucket or Haverhill. Neither bill of sale fully satisfies the description of the original grant; both have something in common with it. Only the one grant of land is recorded, and the records of Andover and Haverhill throw no light on the puzzle. There may have been two grants, or Ward may have received or purchased land at Haverhill which he later sold to Eaton, although the phrase "have or ought to have" does not suggest it, and Ward was not the sort of man to remain uncertain of his ownership to land for which he had paid real money. Whatever the true explanation of the facts may be, we are not surprised to learn that Harvard was never able to lay out the farm acquired from Ward. Eaton later settled at Haverhill,[53]

but whether on land conveyed to him by Ward can not be determined.

The transfer of his farm to Harvard is the last recorded act of Nathaniel Ward in America. This as we have seen was on December 10th. Shortly after this he set sail. He may have gone in the company of Edward Winslow who left about the middle of December. [54] He himself speaks later of a "hard winter voyage."[55] With him went his son James and probably his daughter Susan and her children.

Although he pays tribute in the Simple Cobler to the virtues of New England, it was probably with little regret that he left her shores. His life here had been a disappointment in many ways. Here he had learned the leanness of a New England purse, and, although he could look back with satisfaction to the gift of the Body of Liberties to the colony, he had almost cinsistently found himself in opposition to those in authority in both political and religious matters. He had never identified himself closely with the life of those about him. There is something of aloofness in his attitude; he acts and speaks objectively. Only in scattered passages of the Simple Cobler does he speak as a New Englander, and even there a note of superficiality suggests that it is as the Simple Cobler of Agawam and not as Nathaniel Ward that he utters the phrases. It was as an exile that he had come to Massachusetts Bay, and it was with the feelings of a returning exile that he again set his face toward Old England. That he regretted parting with friends we cannot doubt, moreover he left behind him his eldest son who had found a permanent and happy haven in the new land. For himself,

the new world had nothing more to offer, while in the political and religious struggle going on in England he saw an opportunity for service. That his mind was already pondering these things the Simple Cobler itself is ample witness.

Notes to Chapter VI

1 Morris, History of Colonization II:21.

2 The migration of Thomas Hooker from Newtown to Connecticut with a large part of his congregation in 1636 is one example, another that might be mentioned was the removal of Thomas Parker with about one hundred of his followers from Ipswich to Newbury in 1635.

3 Jones: Thomas Dudley p. 440.

4 Ibid p. 443.

5 Ibid p. 445.

6 Simple Cobler p. 53.

7 Ibid p. 41.

8 Winthrop: I:295.

9 post, p. 173.

10 There are several references to Ward's farm in the Ipswich records, but it is impossible to locate it exactly. It was somewhere along the course of Labor-in-Vain Creek.

11 Magnalia I:470.

12 Waters, John Winthrop the Younger, p. 25.

13 Waters, Ipswich in Mass. Bay Col. p. 505. See also ante p. 126

14 See list of first settlers in Chase, History of Haverhill.

15 Waters, Ipswich Mass. Bay Col. p.508.

16 Ibid p. 509.

17 Ibid p. 506.

18 See Bailey's History of Andover p. 5.

19 Col. Rec. I:5-7.

20 Chase, History of Haverhill p. 38.

21 Col. Rec. I:303.

22 Col. Rec. I:319.

23 Chase, History of Haverhill p. 43.

24 These details of Firmin's life are drawn from the interesting memoir of him by John Ward Dean.

25 Currier makes no mention of him in his Hist. of Newbury or his History and Biographical Sketches of Newbury.

26 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th vii:334.

27 Winthrop, ii:29 2d ed. 3d. p. 34.

28 Chase, History of Haverhill p. 39.

29 Mather, Felt, Letchford. See also Chase, p. 39.

30 Chase, History of Haverhill p. 39.

31 Ibid. p. 60. See also Dean, p. 188.

32 Col Rec. I:344.

33 Ibid II:38.

34 The steps in the development of the confederation can be found in Winthrop. See also Tyler's England in America Chap. XVIII.

35 Winthrop II:108.

36 Ibid.

37 Hutchinson, Collection p. 113.

38 Winthrop II:128.

39 Hutchinson, Collection p. 115.

40 Ibid p. 121.

41 Winthrop II:167. It is amusing to note that when, in 1641, Ward

preached his election sermon giving voice to ideas antagonistic to those of Winthrop, that the latter brands him as "no minster by the received determination of our churches," but when the freemen in 1644 seem bent on giving him magisterial powers, the Governor hastens to announce that he is "still a preacher." The two statements can leave small doubt that Winthrop had little sympathy with Ward in whatever capacity he might appear.

42 Ibid.

43 Col. Rec. II:109.

44 Ibid II:128.

45 Ibid II:157.

46 Ibid II:169.

47 Probate Records of Essex County I:4, 7, 8; Col. Rec. II:182.

48 See sketch of Ward by Waters in Ipswich Historical Society edition of The Simple Cobler, p. 94.

49 Waters, Ipswich in Mass. Bay Colony, p. 471

50 Pulsifer's edition of the Simple Cobler, p. 96.

51 Little is known about this son. He entered Harvard in 1641, but does not seem to have been of a scholarly turn of mind. He got into serious trouble in 1644 when he and another student named Welde, the son of Rev. Thomas Welde, broke into and robbed the houses of Joshua Heines and Joseph Welde of some eleven pounds in money and thirty shillings worth of gunpowder. For this they were publicly whipped by the president of the college, and having then been called before the court were required to make twofold restitution. The incident is an interesting commentary on some

passages in the letter from Ward to Winthrop quoted on page 91 of this work. James returned to England with his father. He was made A.M. and fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford in 1648, and in 1649 was created bachelor of physic by favor of General Fairfax. Nothing further is known of him. See Dean, p. 195; Winthrop II:102; Coffin's History of Newbury, p.41; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, p.121.

52 Col. Soc. Coll. XV:283, see also ibid 176, 209, 217, 284. Suffolk Deeds I:168, 202.

53 Chase, History of Haverhill pp. 64, 72. Eaton seems to have gone to Haverhill between 1645-1648. In the latter year his property is valued at eighty pounds.

54 Dean, p. 88.

55 Letter prefixed to his A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons.

THE SIMPLE COBLER OF AGGAVVAM in AMERICA.

WILLING

To help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and ſole, with all the honeſt ſtitches he can take.

And as willing never to bee paid for his work, by Old Engliſh wonted pay.

It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis.

Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purſes.

By *Theodore de la Guard.*

In rebus arduis ac tenui ſpe, fortiſſima quæque conſilia tutiſſima ſunt. Cic.

In Engliſh,
When bootes and ſhoes are torne up to the lefts,
Coblers muſt thruſt their awles up to the hefts.

This is no time to feare *Apelles gramm:*
Ne Sutor quidem ultrà crepidam.

LONDON,
Printed by *John Dever & Robert Ibbitſon*, for *Stephen Bowtell*, at the ſigne of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

Title page of the first edition of

The Simple Cobler

(From the copy in the Harvard College Library.)

Chapter VII

"THE SIMPLE COBLER"

Few readers of American literature, browsing through the arid fields of the seventeenth century, fail to linger for an hour of rather puzzled interest in the house of The Simple Cobbler of Agawam. Among the tedious books of ecclesiastical argument and demonstration, the slender volume from Ward's pen stands as the most picturesque production of the period. It is individualistic in an age of stylistic uniformity, pithy and direct in an age of verbosity, grimly humorous in an age when humor was notably flaccid and colourless. It defies classification, and challenges many preconceived ideas of American thought and attitude. It may be abused or admired, but never ignored. So vigorous is the personality of the book that it has created for its author a hazy and legendary character woven from the spirit of the book itself. Casual writers about the period nearly always refer to Ward as "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam", and invest him with a romantic personality that is the sublimation of his book as they conceive it. This would all be very well were their conception of the book a true one. Not only are the ideas concerning the book curiously divergent, they seem often to have been formed at second hand, recreated as it were from the mythical figure of the author, itself the product of misconception. The book has been referred to as a volume of sermons, a humorous pamphlet, a book of verse.[1] Such misunderstanding is rather amusing;

but all commentators, whatever their degree of knowledge of the text, uniformly characterize the book as an expression of extreme intolerance and narrow-mindedness. "Of all the bigots who left their mark on the unformed character of the youthful colony, none surpassed Ward in intolerance. . . . Here is the soul of Torquemada and the buffoonery of Tetzel."[2] Ward is presented as a bigot among bigots, a hater of religious freedom, a harsh and bitter fanatic. This is an overpowering figure to stand between the reader and the book; it must be put aside before an honest appraisal of the work can be made.

It is a refreshing title-page that one finds on opening the book. Its lack of clerical flavour, its gentle humour, give it a modernity that its contemporaries lack. Yet it is a rather misleading title-page. Present day readers, at least, are prepared for a mock simplicity, for the figure of a lowly artisan uttering humorous words of homely wisdom. It is perhaps disappointment that has so often sharpened the pens of critics. There is little that is suggestive of the humble cobbler in Ward's ideas or their mode of expression. He does not even attempt to maintain his assumed character. Only stray figures of speech and the "Hobnails" at the end relate themselves to the title-page. Hence the genesis or purpose of the title-page is something of a puzzle. The figure of the cobbler is common enough in the pamphlets before and contemporary with Ward. But it is nearly always made the object of coarse satire. In broadsides, ballads, and pamphlets dealing with religious controversies, the cobbler figures againand again as the illiterate if not immoral

dupe of ecclesiastical heresies; he is at once the fool, the victim, and the villain of the piece. The character is frequently used to represent the preaching laymen of the Independent sects, a class against which Ward himself is bitterly antagonistic. The usual attitude may be seen in the following couplet that closes a pamphlet published in London in 1641.[3]

"When Women Preach, and Coblers Pray,
The fiends in Hell make holiday."

Ward could not have been unaware that in adopting the character of a cobbler he ran a risk of placing himself, in the eyes of some of his readers, among the ranks of the sectarians. It is possible that he deliberately chose the figure, modifying its concept by the words, "of Aggawam in America", in an effort to show by the content of his book that the so-called Independents or "cobblers" in New England were not to be classed with the schismatics and radicals of Old England. Although this hypothesis is not unreasonable in the light of the criticism that had been launched against the "New England Way", it is simpler perhaps to assume that the title was to Ward merely an epithet applied to himself, that he only meant to say, "Nathaniel Ward, simple mender of souls in Ipswich." Or he may have desired subtly to suggest his lack of regular clerical office, to indicate that he was a patcher and mender of things spiritual rather than a shaper and maker of them. But whatever its purpose or meaning, the title was an unusually effective one and immediately caught the public's fancy. The figure of the "simple cobler" was promptly borrowed by more than one pamphleteer of the period as we shall see later.

There seems no valid reason why Ward should have hidden his real name behind a pseudonym, especially one so transparent as that used. Theodore, the Greek equivalent of Nathaniel, and a French version of his surname, certainly deceived no one. Yet the act was characteristic of Ward. All of his later pamphlets, with the exception of his Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, were published anonymously. Lack of self-confidence or a dislike for personalities may explain his consistent preference for obscurity. It is perhaps significant that the more specifically controversial his tracts become, the denser is their anonymity, resulting in many confusing questions of authorship.

When we turn to the text of The Simple Cobler, we find that the book is not essentially a unit but a collection of individual and unrelated essays and an occasional recurrence of the cobbler touch. The book is a small quarto of eighty-nine pages.[4] The first essay dealing with the question of religious toleration takes up the first twenty-five pages. The discussion of women's fashions, which occupies seven pages, follows. The third essay dealing with the political condition of England is by far the longest and most important section of the book. It runs for forty-three pages, and is carefully planned and organized. After this comes a series of short passages of one and two pages in length: A Word to Ireland; A Word of Love to the Common People of England; To the Parliament; and To the Ministers of England. Seven stanzas of verse under the title of Hobnails follow, and the book closes with the consciously humorous five pages of Errata at non Corrigenda.

As this rough table of contents suggests, the material in the volume is varied in subject matter, style, and method. There is nothing clearly indicating that any part of it was ever delivered from the pulpit, although it is not impossible that the first and second sections may, in substance, have furnished materials for sermons. It is not even certain that the different parts were composed consecutively although what evidence there is suggests that they were. The first essay is dated as having been at least commenced in 1645 by the occurrence of the phrase, "Materia millessima sexcentesima quadragesima quinta."[5] His statement in the second section, "I have been a solitary widower almost twelve years,"[6] suggests a date certainly not earlier than 1645. The discussion of political conditions in England would appear to have been written not long after the battle of Naseby;[7] and he again speaks of a twelve year residence in America.[8] The last paragraph begins: "And Wee your Brethren, though we necessarily abide beyond Jordon, and remaine on the American Sea-coasts, will send up Armies of prayers to the Throne of Grace, that the God of power and goodnesse, would incourage your hearts, cover your heads, strengthen your arms, pardon your sinnes, save your soules, and blesse your families, in the day of battell."[9] This would suggest that when it was penned the writer had no intention of an immediate return to England. Hence it seems safe to say that the section was written not earlier than June 14, 1645, and not later than May 22, 1646. It is difficult to date the bitter and savage "A Word to Ireland." The massacre that called forth the flood of execration occurred in October, 1641; but there is no direct evidence that Ward's invective was

written immediately on news of the event. If it was, it is of course the first part of the book in point of composition. It seems more probable, however, that it was written after the success of the Puritan arms, when Englishmen were turning their thought toward the punishment of Ireland for its support of Charles. The punitive expedition was not made, however, until 1649. The three short selections that follow the Word to Ireland were all added in the fourth edition, and hence were undoubtedly written after Ward's return to England. The Poetic Hobnails and the Errata that close the volume were apparently written last, just before the manuscript was sent to England sometime late in 1646, for one of the verses of the closing poem suggests that Ward is preparing for his return.[10]

The general impression of the book leads one to the conclusion that it was approximately a consecutive production commenced sometime in 1645, worked at intermittently during the following year, and completed in the fall of 1646. This does not necessarily mean that Ward originally intended the separate articles to form one book. Many things indicate he had no such intention while writing. There is much that seems artificial in the combination of the parts. They vary in style and mood. The easy interpolation of three new sections in the fourth edition shows how loose was the organic unity of the original volume in the author's mind. There is also a striking typographical division at the end of the third article which closes with the finality of a double "amen." There is no such distinct demarcation between the first three essays, although they are clearly distinguished in thought. Perhaps Ward, on the eve of departure, merely selected from his recent compositions such pieces as seemed

of most timely significance, gave them a loose unity under his whimsical title-page, added, in lighter mood, the Errata and the Hobnails to balance the title,[11] and sent the manuscript to England as a harbinger of his coming.

Ward doubtlessly intended his book to be a messenger of peace, for in it he sought to reconcile the ecclesiastical and political differences that were jeopardizing Puritan success in the civil war. But no book written in 1645 could be wholly impartial. So varied were the grounds of disagreement, so fundamentally different the principles involved, that any discussion of them ipso facto breathed partisanship of some sort.

The Presbyterians who dominated Parliament held their power through the success of the army -- an army not of their own making but a product of the genius of Oliver Cromwell. However deep and sincere Cromwell's religious feelings may have been, he was preeminently an opportunist and a practical soldier. He had created the "New Model" upon the same basis on which he had reared his regiment of "Ironsides", and the heart and soul of his creation was democratically independent. By 1645 the immediate problem in England was the clash between the idea of a centralized and closely organized church rule that should be dominant, and that of a political control by Cromwell and the leaders of the "New Model" to whom the unity of the religious establishment was of decidedly secondary importance. To many the key to the whole situation seemed to lie in the question of religious toleration, and hence this subject occupied the pens of a large number of pamphleteers from 1640 to 1650. It was inevitable

that Ward should contribute to the discussion, and equally inevitable that his sympathies should be on the side of those who opposed a general toleration and sought for unification.

The rise of the so-called Sectaries or Independents was not inherent in the Puritan movement itself. It was rather a result of a leveling influence that the political progress of the war brought about. It owed much also to the structure of the "New Model". The various religious opinions represented in the movement were not, of course, new; many of them had found expression on the continent for years, and were represented in England by small isolated groups and congregations. Independency as a movement became of national importance only with the reconstruction of the army in the hands of Cromwell and the resulting success of the Puritan arms. The first Puritan leaders, notably Pym and Hampden, had no quarrel with the Episcopal organization. They sought only a political reformation within it. On the other hand, Presbyterianism, in spite of the early activities of Cartwright, gained little headway in England; even at the moment of Puritan triumph, it had little hold on the minds of the common people outside of London and Lancashire.[12] But by 1645 political expediency, especially the need of Scottish support, led to the adoption by Parliament of the Covenant, pledging that body to the support of the Presbyterian order. The resultwas twofold. It practically forced all who felt keenly the need of church unity to support Presbyterianism and the Parliament that had accepted it; although to a large number of individuals this support was in the nature of a political compromise and did not represent religious con-

viction. Among such was Nathaniel Ward. On the other hand, the signing of the Covenant created at once a gulf between Parliament and Army; for the latter owed much of its strength to the religious fervor of its Independent members. This gulf was made concrete by the Self-Renouncing Ordinance, which was forced through Parliament by Cromwell and Vane as part of their policy in the reconstruction of the army. This act, by forbidding any member of Parliament to hold a commission in the "New Model", removed practically all of the Presbyterian leaders from their commands and effectually ended any hope of coöperation between the two bodies.

The army as reconstructed was officered by men of low as well as gentle birth. The rank and file were chosen on a basis of their honesty and religious zeal. The whole tone of the organization fostered independence of thought and individual self respect. Under the circumstances toleration of religious opinion was a necessity in its construction and maintenance. Therefore the cleavage in religious thought between Parliament and Army was of the most fundamental sort. The immediate clash was over the question of granting a general religious toleration by legislative action. This question was debated hotly by Parliament, the Assembly of Divines and the clergy at large. The situation was further complicated by the arrival of men like Vane and Peters who had tasted of Congregationalism in New England, and who brought with them the "New England Way". As we have seen, Congregationalism had been forced upon the New England clergy by circumstance rather than desire; but under the able leadership of John Cotton[13] it had assumed a certain uniformity of design and enough unity of principle to give it coherence. It was an organi-

zation rather than a sect, and was, perhaps, nearer Presbyterianism than any other system.[14]

Hence to some of those who were seeking compromise, it seemed to offer a theoretical solution to the difficulties. As a system, it possessed unity enough to satisfy the more liberal wing of the Presbyterian party, and yet at the same time, it allowed liberty enough to appeal to the less radical among the Independents. Had Peters and Vane definitely sought such a compromise something might have been accomplished, but both men identified themselves with, and accepted, Independency. The opportunity, if one really ever existed, was lost. Only a small group of men, none of them leaders on either side, held to the possibility of effecting such a compromise. Among these was Nathaniel Ward; and The Simple Cobler is his first effort to make his influence felt in that direction.

The opening section of The Simple Cobler, dealing with Toleration, is, then, in line with a definite body of English thought. But Ward's hearty dislike for irregular religious doctrine swerved him too far from the middle course he sought to navigate. He found it easy enough to join his ideas to Presbyterianism but could not draw his line on the other side to include anything but conservative Congregationalism. He remained as bitterly opposed as the most rabid of the Presbyterians to the individualism of the "Sectarians." The result is that his chapter on Toleration seems to differ from such works as Edwards' Gangrenae only in some degree of moderation.

In fact the influence of Edwards can be distinctly traced in the earlier pages of The Simple Cobler. The first edition of the

Gangrenae was published the latter part of February or early in March, 1645-6.[15] It contained many examples of the doings of the Sectarians or Independents, for Edwards identifies the two. He includes in his book an attack on the preaching of Giles Firmin, Ward's son-in-law. In his attack he mentions a sermon by Firmin in which the latter attempted to show the closeness of Presbyterianism to Independency or Congregationalism.[16] There can be little doubt that Firmin's views would, to some extent, reflect those of his father-in-law. Firmin wrote a vigorous reply to Edwards, protesting at his inclusion among the Sectaries, and citing his own Presbyterian ordination, although admitting that due to circumstances he preached before he was ordained.

The tone of Edward's book is much sharper than anything in The Simple Cobler, due partly to the fact that he deals so much in personalities. Ward's shafts are all aimed at generalities. Admittedly he shares Edwards' hatred of the Sectarians, but he seems incensed more at the theory than at the professor. Ward's pamphlet was in no sense a reply to Edwards, but it may well have been intended in some measure to combat it by showing the more moderate point of view.

Nearly all of the Anti-Sectarian tracts of the period contain in some form or other lists or catalogues of the various sects. Ward followed this convention, listing seventeen, and opposing them typographically, although with no apparent significance, to a list of spirits from classical mythology.

A comparison of Ward's list with many others shows a close

resemblance to only two. These are Edwards' list and the one in Heresiography by Ephraim Paget. Since Paget lists some fifty groups, the correspondence in his case is of slight significance. In the Gangrenae, however, Edwards lists only sixteen. Ward, closely following Edwards in point of numbers, lists all the names Edwards includes with the significant exception of the "Independents". Due to the fact that Edwards combined the "Arminians" and the "Manifestarians" as one, whereas Ward separates them, Ward has two names not appearing in Edwards' list. These are "Erastians" and "Mortalians". Neither of these were actually existing sects in England, but represented more or less theoretical distinctions in earlier ecclesiastical discussions.[17] The close resemblance between the two lists makes it almost certain that Ward was familiar with the Gangrenae, and that he depended on it in drawing up his list of the sects.

In his treatment of Toleration as a policy, he departs from Edwards in emphasis and degree rather than in theory. While Edwards goes into concrete examples of the heretical ideas, and cites specific evils that follow from their practice, Ward, although condemning the heresies involved, emphasizes the potential danger to unified religious thought. He stresses the unity of truth. "If Truth be but One, me thinks all the Opinionists in England should not be all in that One Truth, some of them I doubt are out."[18] Among his four greatest detestations he places toleration of one religion in "Segregant" shapes: "Poly-piety is the greatest impiety in the world."[19] With ample scriptural references, he shows the

essential unity of Biblical revelation. To speak truly, there is little that is original in his attack against a divided religious opinion. Like many theologians of his time, he could see no sane defence for those who broke the logical chain of Calvinistic doctrine. God and His truth are one, he cries: "They which divide in religion, divide in God; they who divide in him, divide beyond Genus Generalissimum, where there is no reconciliation, without atonement; that is, without uniting in him, who is One, and in his Truth, which is also one."[20] "I cannot imagine," he says, "why the Holy Ghost should give Timothie the solemnest charge, was ever given mortall man, to observe the Rules he had given, till the comming of Christ, if new things must be expected."[21] The passage referred to is Timothy 6:13.14. It reads: "I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession: That thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukeable until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ." According to Ward, only chaos can follow the attack by false logic upon this clearly declared fixity of God's revelation; but the extent to which theoretical reasoning dominated his mind is seen in the use of the word in the following quotation. "To set up a Theoricall untruth, is to warrant every lye that lyes from its root to the top of every branch it hath, which are not few."[22]

Yet the most individual quality of the essay, the thing that sets it apart from its contemporaries, is its moderation. In spite of those seemingly bigoted passages so often quoted,[23] the

note of compromise and reasonableness runs like a golden thread throughout. Early in the essay he says, "That State is wise, that will improve all paines and patience rather to compose, then tolerate differences in Religion."[24] Moreover, mere differences of scriptural interpretation are not to be condemned; they are, in fact, the mark of an intellectual brotherhood among Christians. Only when they become irrational are they dangerous. "Tolerations in things tolerable, exquisitely drawn out by the lines of the Scripture, and pensill of the Spirit, are the sacred favours of Truth, the due latitudes of Love, the faire Compartments of Christian fraternity: but irregular dispensations, dealt forth by the facilities of men, are the frontiers of error, the redcubts of Schisme, the perillous irritements of carnall and spirituall enmity."[25] To quarrel over things of small importance is a sign of extravagance. An excessive zeal defeats itself by its lack of balance. "Not to tolerate things meerly indifferent to weak consciences, argues a conscience too strong: pressed uniformity in these, causes disunity."[26] He even stoops to the demands of material expediency; and if in doing so he loses something of the ideal, he at least proves that he is no fanatic. "And prudent are those Christians, that will rather give what may be given, then hazard all by yeelding nothing. To sell all peace of Country, to buy some peace of conscience unseasonably, is more avarice than thrift, imprudence than patience: they deal not equally, that set any Truth of God at such a rate; but they deal wisely that will stay till the Market is fallen"[27]

Concerning the results of toleration he is terse and vigorous, but again theoretical rather than specific. His conclusion is the essence of practical compromise.

"Every Toleration of false Religions, or Opinions hath as many Errours and sins in it, as all the false Religions and Opinions it tolerats, and one sound one more.

"That State that will give Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, must give Liberty of Conscience and Conversation in their Morall Laws, or else the Fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack."[28]

He has had some experience with religious toleration on the continent during his travels, and this experience had not made him a champion of religious freedom. He found the results to be confusion and disunity, "meager", "motly", "leopard-like" are the adjectives he uses to describe the religion that resulted.[29] It is doubtless true that his experiences were not valid grounds for judging the Independents and their ideas as they existed in England in 1646, but Ward did not know this, or at least gave it no consideration. However, there is no feeling of doubt or lack of faith expressed in The Simple Cobler. Ward has no fear that the truth will not triumph in the end. Was it the note of hysteria in the Gangrenae that led him to express his unshaken faith quaintly yet not without power in the words: "It is said Opinionists are many, and strong, that de sunt Vires, that it is turbata respublica, I am very sorry for it, but more sorry, if despondency of minde shall cause the least tergiversation in God's Worthies, who have receiv'd such pledges of his presence

in their late Counsels, and Conflicts. It is not thousands of Opinionists that can pinion his Everlasting armes, I can hardly beleeve there is a greater unbeleever than my Selfe, yet I verily beleeve that the God of Truth will in a short time scatter them all like smoake before the wind. I confesse I am troubled to see Men so over-troubled about them."[30]

But in spite of its inherent reasonableness and moderation, the essay must be read with sympathy and due regard for the time of its composition if it is to be fairly judged. Its doctrine is narrow according to modern standards. It is easy to pick out passages that glower darkly if placed, as they so often are, beside the mild mysticisms of Roger Williams. Moreover, in these opening pages of The Simple Cobler, the reader is introduced abruptly to the curious literary style of Nathaniel Ward. This style will be considered in more detail later on. It is sufficient for the present to say that in this essay on Toleration, the style becomes an instrument for increased vigor and force; and although at times a little clumsy and self conscious, it succeeds in imparting to the essay an individuality that gives the illusion of a greater degree of originality than is really there.

From problems of toleration, Ward turns to an ironic homily on women's fashions, or rather, upon fashionable women. With only a space to mark the division on the page, he swings directly to his new subject. Referring to a sentence in the previous section,[31] he begins: "Should I not keepe promise in speaking a little to Womens fashions, they would take it unkindly: I was loath to pester better

matter with such stuffe; I rather thought it meet to let them stand by themselves, like the Quae Genus in the Grammar, being Deficients, or Redundants, not to be brought under any Rule: I shall therefore make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their loose tongued Liberty, and mis spend a word or two upon their long-wasted, but short-skirted patience: a little use of my stirrup will dow no harme."[32] Then, with a line from Horace as a spring-board, he plunges into a tirade against feminine fripperies that keeps to this day much of its ironical force.

He makes it clear that he has no quarrel with good taste or comeliness. "I honour the woman that can honour her selfe with her attire: a good Text alwayes deserves a fair Margent."[33] But against the foolish woman who lives only for the latest fashion or whim of the court he launches the full force of his genius for stinging epithet, branding her as "the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of Nothing."[34] Has the literary man ever come nearer to the absolute negative than this?

With verbal shrugs of his shoulders he confesses itb eyond his understanding how the ladies can have so li tle sense as to "disfigure themseleves with such exotick garbes, as not only dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gant-bar-geese, ill-shapen-shotten-shell-fish, Egyptian Hyeroglyphics, or at the best into French flurts of the eastery."[35] But such is womankind, and he draws what comfort he can from a wise saying, told to him on his travels by a lady of the Bohemian court:

> "The world is full of care, much like unto a bubble;
> Women and care, and care and women, and women and care and trouble."[36]

He pays his respects to the tailors who cater to "futulous womens phansies", decrying in the same breath the subservience of English women to the dictates of French whims that are so changable that "Hee that makes Coates for the Moone, had need to take measure every noone: and he that makes for women, as often, to keepe them from Lunacy."[36] Then turning suddenly urbane, he tips his shafts with flattery: "Most deare and unparallel'd Ladies, be pleased to attempt it: as you have the precellency of the women of the world for beauty and future; so assume the honour to give, and not take Law from any, in matter of attire."[37]

Yet when he becomes serious we find that same note of sane moderation. However extravagant he may be with his ironical epithets and "new quodled" words, he can, without losing his pungency of phrasing, speak clearly for the golden mean. "I desire all Ladies and Gentlewomen to understand that all this while I intend not such as through necessary modesty to avoid morose singularity, follow fashions slowly, a flight shot or two off, shewing by their moderation, that they rather draw countermont with their hearts, then put on by their examples.

"I point my pen only against the light-heel'd beagles that lead the chase so fast, that they run all civility out of breath, against these Ape-headed pullets, which invent Antique foole-fangles, meerly for fashion and novelty sake."[38] Although the style suggests Carlyle, the sentiment is Pope's, for it takes no extravagant chemistry to refine Ward's lines into:

> "Be not the first by whom the new are tried,
> Nor yet the last to lay the old aside."

He closes with a short attack on the wearing of long hair by men, a subject conventional enough at the time, and one to which he brings nothing new except the vigor of his style.

This section contains, perhaps, the best known and most often quoted passages of the Simple Cobler. It is here, also, that the eccentricities of Ward's style seem to reach a climax, giving a dominant tone to the entire book. It would be nearer the truth to say that the style is here best suited to the material. It gives to the ironical over-statement something of the sting of genuine satire without lifting it from the plane of the humorous. It is largely its humor that makes the essay readable to-day, although its time worn but ever green theme, the frailities of womankind, unquestionably gives it part of its lasting quality. All ages from that of the Canterbury Tales to the present one have enjoyed its jibes at feminine folly, and the Puritan age, in spite of its preoccupation with matters of the soul, was no exception. In the general scheme of the book as a whole, this section seems to serve as a sort of comic interlude between the two serious dissertations that precede and follow it. To what extent this seeming function was intentional is a question that only the ghost of the Simple Cobbler himself can answer.

"Having done with the upper part of my work", writes Ward, "I would now with all humble willingnesse set on the best peece of Soule-leather I have, did I not fear I should break my All, which though it may be a right old English blade, yet is but little and weak."[39] With this recurrence of the cobbler motif and a vacant line on the printed page, he starts the longest and most significant section

THE

SIMPLE COBLER

OF

AGGAVVAM in AMERICA.

WILLING

To help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take.

And as willing never to bee paid for his work, by Old English wonted pay.

It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis.

Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purses.

By *Theodore de la Guard.* G.3.58

In rebus arduis ac tenuis spe, fortissima quaque consilia tutissima sunt. Cic.

In English,
When bootes and shoes are torne in to the lests,
Coblers must thrust their awles up to the hefts.

This is no time to feare *Apelles gramm:*
Ne Sutor quidem ultra crepidam.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D. & R. I.* for *Stephen Bowtell*, at the signe of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

Title page of the second edition of

The Simple Cobler

(From the copy in the Boston Public Library.)

of his work. It is doubtless the raison d'etre of the volume for it is the only part that is in line with his later works. Of all the essays it is the most carefully organized, and stylistically the least eccentric. He at once states his purpose, which is to "speake perswasives to a comely brotherly seasonable and reasonable cessation of Armes on both sides, by a drawn battaile."[40] He has said a hesitant word about the religious phases of the conflict that is shaking his native land; now he turns to the political problems involved. That he has more to say, and speaks with more confidence is but one more indication that he is at heart more of a lawyer than a preacher.

He outlines briefly the ways that are open for the attainment of his purpose. "Foure meanes there are, and no more, within the compasse of my consideration, conducing to what is desired. Either to get the Standard fixed in heaven by the Lord of Hosts taken downe, I meane by Reformation: Or set up white colours instead of red, on one side or other, I meane by Composition: Or by furling up all the Ensignes on both sides, I meane by mutuall and general Cessation: Or by still displaying all the Colours and Cornets of every batallion, I meane by prosecution: without Reformation there will hardly be any Composition; without Composition little hope of Dessation; without Cessation there must and will be Prosecution; which God forbid."[41]

Each of these four divisions he developes separately. Reformation he conceives as restoration. The civil war has shattered the machinery of organized government or at least destroyed its unity. The first step in political reformation is the return of the King to

his throne. While admitting that the unhappy condition of the country has been caused by the King's failure to deal justly with his people, Ward yet feels that no permanent settlement of the difficulties can be reached until the King, as head of the government, is again placed securely on his throne. "Most expert Gentlemen, bee intreated at length to set our head right on our Shoulders, that we may once look upwards and goe forwards like proper Englishmen."[42] It is clear that the writer has no very clear conception of the nature of the ever widening gulf between the King and his Parliament. He sees the theoretical aspects of the situation only; to him it is a problem the answer to which can be reasoned out from precedents and formulae. His distrust of democracy prevents him from seeing that the forces at work are laying the foundation for a new conception of governmental organization.

Reformation of the ecclesiastical organization is next in order. The Bishops, he says, are gone; the task before Parliament is to replace the old Episcopal organization with a new one. Yet the new is to be of the same centralized type. He finds the answer in a modified Presbyterianism. "I am neither Presbyterian, nor plebsbyterian, but an Interpendent: My task is to fit and study how shapeable the Independent way will be to the body of England, then my head akes on one side; and how suitable the Presbyterian way, as we here it propounded, will be to the minde of Christ, then my head akes on the other side: but when I consider how Parliament will commoderate a way out of both, then my head leaves aking. I am not without some contrivalls in my patching braines; but I had rather suppose them to

powder, than expose them to preregular, much lesse to extra-regular Judgements."[43] What his "contrivalls" were we never learn specifically even in his later works. It is probable that they represented some theoretical modification of Congregationalism through the centralized authority of regular local and national synods, centering in a body similar to the Assembly of Divines. Certainly he demanded a high degree of unity in church organization, for "Warring and jarring men are no builders of houses of God."[44] Naturally he had no faith in the ability of the common people, as represented by the Independents, to find the true path. "If publique Assemblies of Divines cannot agree upon a right way, private Conventicles of illiterate men; will soone find a wrong."[45] But the way of compromise seems open; he can see no reason why the Presbyterian and Independent theories are irreconcilable. "I feare, he that sayes the Presbyterian and Independent way, if rightly carryed doe not meet in one, he doth not handle his Compasses so considerately as he should."[46] When we consider the part Ward had played in the political struggles in Massachusetts, it seems rather remarkable that he should remain so blind to the fundamentally social and political character of the differences that divided the two parties he sought so easily to unite. We can infer, moreover, that he regarded the power of the church superior to that of the state, for he insists that "the Authority of the Ministry be kept in its due altitude."[47] His observations while on the continent have lead him to regard aspeculiarly dangerous the support of the ministry by voluntary contributions from the congregation.[48] His comments on this subject are significant not only because they indicate his adherence to the union of church and state, but also for

the light they throw on his own character. Their spirit is, to say the least, not missionary. "When Elders live upon peoples good wills, people care little for their ill wills, be they never so just. Voluntary Contributions or non tributions of Members, put Ministers upon many temptations in administrations of their Offices, two houres care does more dis spirit an ingenuous man than two dayes study: nor can an Elder be given to hospitality, when he knowes not what will be given him to defray it: it is a pity men of gifts should live upon mens gifts."[49]

But underlying both political and ecclesiastical reformation, Ward discovers the need of Personal Reformation. Each man must first look into his own heart and make his peace with God. The State can never be sound if the individual is not zealous after Truth. These highly conventional ideas are, after all, nothing more than a formulistic statement of what the Independents sought to make practical and concrete in their demands for religious toleration. It was on these very theories that Cromwell so successfully reconstructed the army. Ward was a theoretical Independent and a practical Presbyterian. How little conversant he was with actual conditions is evident when he says: "In a word, hee that is not Pastour, Teacher, Ruler, Deacon and Brother to himselfe, and lookes not at Christ above all, it matters not a farthing whether he be Presbyterian or Independent."[50] And then adds, "Not that good Ordinances breed ill Consciences, but ill Consciences grow starke nought under good Ordinances." It was the impossibility of creating "good ordinances" that yet left to the individual freedom of religious action, that later produced the

conflict between Parliament and Army. Ward stated a paradox although he seems to have been unaware of it.

If this three-flod Reformation is possible, Composition can not be far removed. The burden of compromise lies with the King. "I think, since the world began, it was never storied that Salus Populi began with Majestas Imperii, unlesse Majestas Imperii first unharbor'd it, and hunted it to a stand, and then it must either turne head and live, or turn taile and die."[51] Recurring to his earlier statement, he finds the trouble not with the monarchy but with the occupant of the throne. "Nor can I beleeve that Crownes trouble Kings heads, so much as Kings heads trouble Crownes."[52] This difficulty is not a new one; his travels on the continent have made him ponder on the human infallibility of crowned heads. "I have wondered these thirty years what Kings aile: I have seen in my time the best part of twenty Christian Kings and Princes; Yet as Christian as they were, some or other were still scuffling for Prerogatives."[53] It is in the passages that follow that Ward appears at his best. There is dignity and power in thought and expression, a universality in idea that lifts what he says out of the realm of the immediate. His phrases often approach the terseness of proverbs. His compressed utterances, with their neatly expressed wisdom, remind one of the later Franklin in their pithy quotability. 'A king that lives by Law lives by love; and he that lives above Law, shall live under hatred doe what he can. Slavery and knavery goe as seldome asunder, as Tyrany and Cruelty."[54] In substance, Composition must come from a more just relation between King and People. The fault rests largely with the King; it is he who must yield most, yet it

is a two-sided matter. "Authority must have power to make and keep people honest; People honestly to obey Authority; both, a joynt-Councell to keep both safe."[55] Ward is a thorough-going monarchist, and as such he does not deny the throne its divine sanction, but he has breathed too deeply of the democratic air of America not to feel that the liberty of the individual is equally of God. "Morall Lawes, Royall Prerogatives, Popular Liberties, are not of Mans making or giving, but of Gods: Man is but to measure them out by Gods Rule: which if mans wisdome cannot reach, Mans experience must mend."[56] Even more striking as indicating American influence are some passages that seem to indicate a belief on Ward's part that England needs a written constitution to bolster up the body of her common law. "Our Common Law doth well, but it must doe better before things do as they should. ... Yet it were good if States would let People know so much before hand, by some safe woven manifesto, that grosse Delinquents may tell no tales of Anchors and Boyes, nor palliate their presumptions with pretence of ignorance."[57] American characteristics are not plentiful in either Ward or his book, but here, certainly, is something of that love of black and white, that faith in the divine right of contracts which has worked so powerfully in shaping American political and legal dogma.

Breaking the immediate continuity of his essay, he addresses the King personally in a letter beginning "My Dearest Lord, and my more than dearest King." In terms of personal loyalty that no Cavalier could surpass, he fearlessly brings home to the King his unjust and unroyal acts. Why, he asks, is Charles at war with subjects

who are still loyal to him? Why is he at Oxford with his court and army while his deserted Parliament struggles with the affairs of the realm alone at London? Specifically he charges the King with holding Episcopacy at too high a price. "Hath Episcopacy beene such a religious Jewell in your State; that you will sell all or most of your Coronets, Caps of honour, and blue Garters, for six and twenty cloth Caps? ... Is no Bishop no King, such an oraculous Truth, that you will pawne your Crowne and life upon it?"[58] He taxes the King with having sophisticated religion and state policies; he upbraids him for the luxury of the court, and for his traitorous dealings with the Irish Catholics. There are many strong passages in this letter; its tone, if stern, is dignified, and none may question the sincerity of its many expressions of loyalty. Due emphasis, however, should be given to the closing paragraph which is grimly and ironically Roundhead in spirit. "Gracious Sir, Vouchsafe to pardon my no other sins, but my long Idolatry towards you, and my loving you too hard in this speech, and I will pardon you your Treason against me, even me, by committing Treason against your Selfe my Lord and King; and your murther, in murthering me, even me, by murthering my dear fellow Subjects, bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh, and yours also. If you will not pardon me, I will pardon myselfe, dwell in my owne clothes as long as I can, and happily make as good a shift for my proportion, as he that hath a lighter paire of heeles."[59]

In this letter there is one passage of peculiar personal interest. Ward writes: "Your Majesty knowes or may know, time was, when I did, or would have done you a better peece of service,

then all your Troopes and Regiments are now doing."[60] It is all too vague to warrant any specific interpretation. "Knowes or may know", "did or would have done," we are left in uncertainty whether any service was actually rendered or whether Ward speaks only of good intentions. When and where the service, if any, was performed sets the imagination running wide. Does he speak of some diplomatic service undertaken during his residence abroad, or is he thinking of some conciliatory action attempted by him during the stormy days at Stondon in Essex? Investigation has so far failed to discover any clue to the meaning of the passage, but it at least hints, as do his references to Bacon, Prince Rupert, and the Bohemian court, that at sometime Ward had some official relation to the Crown.

Returning to his original outline, Ward next discusses the Cessation of warfare that might follow were Reformation and Composition accomplished. The chief obstacle he finds here is despair of mutual forgiveness. Such a termination of the war would leave neither party at the mercy of the other, hence pardon must be mutual and voluntary. There can be no exceptions made. Ward is clearly aware of the difficulties attending the settlement of an indecisive conflict. He does not develop the point at any length, merely indicating the difficulties involved. He closes by putting in a good, if slightly humorous, word for the particular pardon of Britanicus, presumably referring to the author of the official organ of the Puritan party whose weekly blasts against the King and his army apparently reached Ward beyond the seas.

If all else fail, then the Prosecution of the war must go on. In these, the closing paragraphs of his essay, there is no note of

compromise. His resolution is fearless and unshakable. Asking only that the warbe fought righteously, that Truth be sought and followed, he pleads for the unfaltering prosecution of the struggle until victory shall be attained. Putting aside his curious vocabulary and his short sentences, he rises on the wings of clear vigorous English in sonorous periods to the heights of inspired oratory.

"Goe on brave Englishmen, in the name of God, go on prosperously, because of Truth and Righteousres: Yee that have the cause of Religion, the life of your Kingdome and all the good that is in it in your hands: Goe on undauntedly: As you are Called and Chosen, so be faithfull: Yee fight the battells of the Lord, bee neither desidious nor perfidious: You serve the King of Kings, who stiles you his heavenly Regiments, Consider well, what impregnable fighting is in heaven, where the Lord of Hosts is your Generall, his Angels your Colonels, the Stars your fellow-souldiers, his Saints your Oratours, his Promises your victuallers, his Truth your Trenches; where Drums are Harps, Trumpets joyfull sounds; your Ensignes Christs Banners; where your weapons and armour are spirituall, therefore irresistable, therefore immierceable; where Sun and wind cannot disadvantage you, you are above them; where hell it selfe cannot hurt you, where your swords are furbushed and sharpened by him that made their metall, where your wounds are bound up with the oyle of a good Cause, where your blood runs into the veynes of Christ. . . . Goe on therefore Renowned Gentlemen, fall on resolvedly, till your hands cleave to your swords, your swords to your enemies hearts, your hearts to victory, your victories to triumph, your triumphs to

the everlasting praise of him that hath given you Spirits to offer your selves willingly, and to jeopard your lives in high perils, for his Name and service sake. . . . All which hee bring to passe who is able to doe exceeding abudantly , above all we can aske or thinke, for his Truth and mercy sake in Jesus Christ. Amen. Amen."[61]

Thus the section ends with the finality of a benediction. It is difficult not to feel that the real purpose of the book has been accomplished, and that what follows is mere miscellaneous material relatively unimportant. This feeling is intensified by the typographical separation of the following section on the printed page, "A Word to Ireland" having, unlike the preceding essays, its separate title and italicized sub-title.

"A Word to Ireland" is notable only for its bitterness, a bitterness no greater, however, than that found in many contemporary pamphlets, from which, unquestionably, Ward drew the inspiration for his invective. He states in his sub-title that he speaks "Not of the Nation universally, . . . but onely of the truculent Cut-throats, and such as shall take up Armes in their Defence."[62] On the heads of these he heaps curses reminiscent of the darkest maledictions of folk lore or Old Testament anathema. These, he tells us, are "the very Offall of men, Dregges of Mankind, Reproach of Christendom, the Bots that crawle on the Beasts taile I wonder Rome it self is not ashamed of them." Begging that the punitive expedition be launched "while the hearts and hands of our Souldiery are hot", he urges a warfare merciless in its severity. "Cursed be he that holdeth back his sword from blood: yea, Cursed be he that maketh not his Sword

starke drunk with Irish blood, that doth not recompence them double for their hellish treachery to the English, that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their Country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Astonishment to Nations; Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand be spared, that pities or spares them, and let him be accursed, that curseth not them bitterly."

The massacre of English Protestants in Ireland occurred October 23, 1641. The wave of English indignation over the event reached the shores of Massachusetts in the course of a year, causing a general fast to be proclaimed on April 14, 1642, for "our native country and Ireland."[63] Many pamphlets detailing the atrocities of the massacre were printed in England, and these doubtless reached America in due time. If Ward's invective seems extreme, it is readily understandable to any who have read such accounts as Thomas Partington's Worse and Worse Newes from Ireland, London 1641, telling of the "plucking out of eyes", "boyling of the heads of little children before their mother's faces", atrocities against women, and closing with a list of Protestant ministers "mangled and tortured." A less hysterical, though no less sanguinary, account The Irish Rebellion by Sir John Temple, was printed in 1646. Ward may have read either of these. Yet it is of course possible that he composed the essay in The Simple Cobler as early as 1642, although the references to the proposed expedition against the rebels would suggest the later date. The section bears no clear relation with the three essays preceding it. Standing in the first edition before the Errata, it was simply a sort of postcript.

The three sections that follow were all added in the fourth edition, and hence written after his return to England. They are brief and may be discussed together. It is impossible to say when, during 1647, they were composed. It was very probably shortly before his sermon before Parliament in June. Although they contain little that is of specific importance, it is clear that he has become more familiar with actual conditions, and has cast his influence on the side of Parliament rather than the Army. He realizes the difficulties that face the Commons, and in his Word of Love to the Common People of England he calls upon the people to support their representatives in the trying task that now faces them "as intricate a piece of worke, as ever fell into the hands of any Parliament in the world, to tye an indissoluble knot upon that webb which hath been woven with so much cost of bloud."[64]

To Parliament itself he presents a sixfold petition urging firmness and expedition in bringing about a resolution of the tangled situation. He again stresses the necessity of restoring the King. In general, however, he does little more than reiterate points already made. The Respective Word to the Ministers of England expresses only words of greeting and an exhortation to be zealous in the cause of Christ. The slightly apologetic tone in which he humbly entreats forgiveness for his boldness may reflect the opposition and criticism which his book and his sermon before Parliament had occasioned.

The Hobnails, which in the first edition closed the book, in the following editions was placed before the Errata et non Corrigenda. Whatever may be said of them as poetry, the seven quatrains thus desig-

nated sum up rather neatly the essential ideas expressed in the main essays of the book. They are probably characteristic of Ward's poetic style, and as such have a value in determining the authorship of later works doubtfully ascribed to Ward. From the literary point of view they are without significance. One can hardly class The Simple Cobler as a volume of verse on the strength of them.

The Errata at non Corrigenda, however, is of intrinsic significance. Here Ward gives his humorous fancy free rein. The section is a miscellany of pure fun. Parodying the errata page so common in contemporary works, he allows his whimsical fancy to play over the surface of his work, lightening the rigor of his satirical shafts, explaining his purpose, disarming his possible critics, apologizing for or extenuating his weakness in rhyme, and commenting on his own literary ideas. To nearly every passage he aprends a quotation from the classics or a bit of doggerel verse of his own manufacture. Among the quotations is a line from Homer, interesting as the only quotation from the Greek to be found in The Simple Cobler or in any work by Ward the authorship of which is beyond dispute.

Perhaps the most interesting of the Errata is, from the critical point of view, the fourth, in which he expresses his ideas concerning style:

4. For affected termes, read, I hope not ---- If I affect termes, it is my feeblenesse; friends that know me, think I doe not: I confess, I see I have here and there taken a few finish stitches, which may haply please a few Velvet eares; but I cannot

now well pull them out, unlesse I should scare-crow all. It seemes it is in fashion with you to sugar your papers [illegible] Gallian Farasse, and spangle your speeches with new cuodled words. Fashion in Apparrel is every mans Coat. Yet I heare some are raking in old rusty Charnel books for old mouldy monesyllables; I wish they were all banisht to Monmouthshire, to return when they had more wit.

Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere, cadentque
Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus. Hor.

I honour them with my heart, that can expresse more than ordinary matter in ordinary words: it is a pleasing eloquence; them more that study wisely and soberly to inhance their native language; them most of all, that esteem the late significant speech, the third great blessing of the Land; it being so enriched, that a man may speak many Tongues in his Mothers mouth and an unlandish Rustick, more in one word than himselfe and all the Parish understands. Affected termes are unaffecting things to solid hearers; yet I hold him prudent, that in these fastidious times, will helpe disedged appetites with convenient condiments, and bangled ears, with pretty quicke pluckes. I speak the rather because, not long since, I met with a book, the best to me I ever saw, but the Bible, yet under favour, it was somewhat underclad, especially by him who can both excogitate and expresse what hee undertakes, as well as any man I know.

The world is growne so fine in words and wit,
That pens must now Sir Edward Nich'las it.
He that much better speaks, speaks ne'r a whit.
If's tongue doth not career't above his wit."[65]

THE

SIMPLE COBLER

OF

AGGAVVAMM in AMERICA.

WILLING

To help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and ſole, with all the honeſt ſtitches he can take.

And as willing never to bee paid for his work, by Old Engliſh wonted pay.

It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis.

Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purſes.

By *Theodore de la Guard.*

The third Edition, with ſome Additions.

In rebus arduis ac tenuibus, fortiſſima quæque conſilia tutiſſima ſunt. Cic.

In Engliſh,

When bootes and ſhoes are torne up to the lefts,
Coblers muſt thruſt their awles up to the hofts.

This is no time to feare *Apelles gramm*:
Ne Sutor quidem ultra crepidam.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D. & R. I.* for *Stephen Bowtell*, at the ſigne of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

Title page of the third edition of

The Simple Cobler

(From the copy in the Harvard College Library.)

We can see clearly that, in spite of his Puritanism, Ward was interested in style and was conscious of his art. He tells us that "new cuodled" words were not his invention, for in using them he is only following a literary convention of the day. He feels that there is a definite relation between the idea and the mode that gives it expression. What the book was that so appealed to Ward that he placed it next to the Bible we do not know. The interesting point is that Ward criticises its style as being underclad, indicating that he had fixed literary standards of his own. The Sir Edward Nicholas referred to was Secretary of State to Charles I and later to Charles II. The full significance of the reference is not very clear, for there is no evidence that Sir Edward was especially noted for the ornateness of his speech or correspondence. Ward probably uses him merely as an example of courtly grace and fashion. Ward's taste would seem to prefer that a writer should err in the direction of Sir Edward than toward those who were striving consciously for a rigid plainness of speech, as he expresses it "raking in old musty Charnel books, for old mouldy monesyllables."

The Errata are peculiarly rich and varied in quotations from the classics. Here, where he has neither politics nor religion for his subject, where he doubtless draws from the authors whom he personally enjoyed, we find Horace appearing twice, Martial, Ovid, Homer, Macrobius, Virgil, Plautus, and Petronius once each. In this cosmopolitan group of writers, where poet, playwright, wit and philospher rub shoulders, one sees the taste of a cultivated man of the world rather than the churchly scholarship of a Puritan divine.

In these few pages of the Errata more than in all his other works together, we seem to glimpse the real Nathaniel Ward, and to sense what his writings might have been had he been freed from the narrowing influence of Puritan theology. We cannot but regret that sometime during his life Ward did not write a book to please himself, instead of devoting his talents to didactic pamphlets to please others.

When we turn to a consideration of The Simple Cobler as a whole, and seek to judge it as a literary document, there is much to give the critic pause. As we have already seen, in ideas and material the book owes something to Edward's Gangrenae, but with this debt to contents all resemblance ends. In style and mood the two books are very different. We must turn elsewhere for any stylistic influence. The reader is at once aware of a certain resemblance to the manner of the Martin Marprelate tracts of 1588-1589. These appeared in the boyhood of Nathaniel Ward. Into the home of a nonconformist clergyman of the stripe of John Ward of Haverhill these tracts must certainly have found their way. As a boy, Nathaniel Ward doubtless read them or heard them read, and listened to discussions concerning them in the circle of his father's friends. He may have possessed copies of them in later life. From the evidence of his own style it would seem almost impossible to believe that Ward was not familiar with the Marprelate tracts, or that his own manner of writing was uninfluenced by them. Particularly striking is the similarity in certain word structures. In Marprelate we have "consubstantial", "dunstical", "besire",

"Beceitful". Compare these with Ward's: "satisdiction", "disgoods", "compolitize", or his "retti toes" with Marprelate's "petty-ropes". There is also a superficial likeness between the Theses Martinae and certain passages in Ward's essay on Toleration. The resemblance, which lies in the method of presenting the material and in sentence structure, is difficult to analyze; but intangible though it is, the likeness seems not without significance. Again, Marprelate's Epitome ends with a short "Errata or Faults Escaped" that, since it is not a true list of typographical errors, may have suggested to Ward his own more pretentious and humorous Errata at Non Corrigenda. That the Marprelate tradition was still alive in the 1640's is indicated by the appearance of a tract printed in London in 1641, bearing the title: Vox Borealis/ or / The Northern Discoverie/ by way of Dialogue between Jamie and Willie/ Amidst/ Babylonian. Printed by Margery Marprelate, in Thwackcoat-Lane, at the Signe of the Crab-tree Cudgell; without any priviledge of the Cater-Caps, the yeare coming on, 1641.

"Martin Mar-Prelate was a bonny Lad
His brave adventures made the Prelates mad:
Though he be dead, yet he hath left behind
A generation of the Martin kind."[107]

In the main, the style of Ward is much more literary and polished than anything to be found in the Marprelate tracts. There is none of the burlesque dialect or colloquialism, none of the hell mell rambling of the older writer. The influence of Carlton's style on the Marprelate tracts has been noted by critics,[108] and this buf-

foonery borrowed from stage craft was foreign to Ward and is not present in his work.

The only contemporary book, other than Jamesone, that seems to have had a perceptible influence in the preparation of The Simple Cobler, is Edward Calamy's England's Looking Glass, published in London in 1642. There is resemblance in style, method, and to a certain extent in ideas. The following passage by Calamy might well have come from the pen of Ward himself. "God now speaks unto us by the many sad divisions and unhappy factions that are in the Church and State. A kingdome divided against itself cannot stand. It is observable, that scarce ever any great enemy entered this Kingdome but when it was at Schisme and division within it self. Tacitus saith, that nothing gave the Romans more advantage against the ancient Brittains than this, Quod factionibus & studiis trabebantur." When we note that Calamy's book also included a passage on Ireland, not dissimilar in tenor to the one in The Simple Cobler, the probability that Ward was at least familiar with the book is strengthened.

Of more personal interest is a study of the references and allusions to men and books that dot the pages of The Simple Cobler. The number and variety of these indicate an interesting literary background. From them we can glimpse something of the character of the author. As we would expect, Biblical references predominate. These number twenty-six citations by book and verse: nine from the New Testament, fifteen from the Old. These references cannot be said to indicate any clear partiality for any one writer, only four books being quoted more than once. These are: Jeremiah and Isaiah four

times each, Ezekiel three times, and John twice.[70] If we look at the number of the verses included in the references, we find the indicated order of preference to be: Jeremiah (15), Isaiah (7), Acts (5), Ezekiel (4), Timothy (4), John (3), and Galatians, Zephaniah, Job, and Hosea two verses each. The preference is still for the Old Testament, although not so predominately so. Taken as a whole, the Biblical references seem of little specific significance. They show no striking individuality in their choice, and, if anything, seem merely to bear out Ward's own statement, "I am none of the disputers of this world: all I can doe, is to guesse when men speak true or false Divinity."[71]

The secular quotations and references are much more illuminating. There are sixteen identifiable quotations in this group. This is nearly two-thirds the number of Biblical references, a rather surprisingly large ratio in a Puritan tract. Of the sixteen, only two are from churchmen: Augustine and Cardinal Pole, the Roman prelate called by Mary to carry out her plan of establishing Catholic supremacy. The remainder of the list are all Roman or Greek secular writers: Cicero, Suetonius, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Homer, Martial, Virgil, Macrobius, and Plautus. There is also a saying of Lycurgus rendered in Latin; this is probably from a Latin version by Plutarch.

Many of these names are conventional enough. Few university graduates of the period refrained from quoting Cicero, Virgil, and Ovid; but the appearance of quotations from the Miles Gloriosus of Plautus, and the Satyricon of Petronius, can only be

taken as indicative of the personal taste of the writer. The satire and humor of early and late Roman authors evidently had a marked appeal for Nathaniel Ward. The satires of Juvenal and the epigrams of Martial also suggest something more than the ordinary clerical taste. But perhaps most significant of all are the four quotations from Horace; no other author is quoted more than once. That Ward found particular pleasure in the works of this author is further suggested by the wide knowledge of the poet's work indicated by the variety of the selections from him. The Epistles, the Odes, and the De Arte Poetica are all sources of reference. The particular quality that Ward found admirable in the Latin poet is perhaps expressed in the first quotation he makes from him: "Ridentem dicere verum, quid prohibet?" This certainly is the spirit in which Ward pens the essay of women's fashions where the quotation occurs. It would also seem to have been the spirit to which his conversation was often tuned. This breath from the Sabine farm, blowing across the Green of Ipswich village, must have been particularly refreshing to many souls who felt only too keenly the harsher winds, actual as well as spiritual, that swept the New England coast.

Ward's use of quotations is apt and facile without being at all subtle. There is nothing, however, forced in their use, nor do they seem unduly intrusive even to modern ears. That quotations from the classics were more or less a convention in Ward's day is true enough, yet the naturalness with which he employs them robs them of any suggestion of pedantry. They seem the expression of a literary taste rather than the mere gilding of seventeenth century scholarship.

In addition to the direct quotations there are many allusions to men and ideas, helpful in filling in Ward's intellectual background. His repeated allusions to events of Roman history would show us that Ward was well read in that field, even were we without Winthrop's cutting reference to Ward's Election Sermon of 1641 to convince us of the fact. We hear echoes of his theological reading in allusions to Augustine, Aquinas, Suarez, and Valentia.[71] He paraphrases the remarks of Frederick, Duke of Saxony,[72] quotes the witty sayings of the Bohemian Court,[73] and speaks of his talk with Pareus at Heidelberg;[74] all of these reflecting probably his continental travels. He alludes also to the artist. Drebble.[75] This reference is of double interest, for it is not impossible that Ward may have met the man himself. Cornelis Drebble was a Hollander born in 1572. He is chiefly known as a philosopher and scientist, the inventor of a perpetual motion machine which he presented to James I of England. In early life, however, he executed a few etchings that attracted some attention. He was at Prague when that city was captured by Frederick in 1620, and was imprisoned, gaining his release through English intercession. This coincides with the period when Ward was on the continent and associated in some way with the Elector's court. Whether Ward knew the artist personally or not, the allusion is significant as indicating some slight interest, at least, in art.

A careful study of The Simple Cobler leaves the irresistible impression that its author was a man of wide experience and catholic tastes; that he was a student of life and men, rather than a scholar of intellectual subtlety. His book is not profound, nor, as we have

seen, essentially original in thought. Humor and a pleasing vigorous style give it its attraction. It is not a masterpiece judged by the arbitrary standards of English literary achievements. Beside the great monuments of Puritan literature, beside the work of a Hooker or a Taylor, it seems trivial indeed. But this is not to deny its claim to a more modest degree of excellence. If we consider it, as it ought more rightly to be considered, as one of the earliest literary products of America, it assumes a position of relatively greater importance. It has often been said that there is nothing about the book to mark it as American, that it plays no part in the historical development of American literature or thought. This attitude has been quite largely influenced by the overemphasis of the intolerant passages. The patriotic critic who claims without question the liberalism of Roger Williams as an American quality, by the same touchstone rejects what he considers the narrow-mindedness of Nathaniel Ward. Yet there is something American, I think, in the very blending of intolerance and liberalism in Ward. Without attempting to define the elusive meaning of the term American, other than to admit a difference in the English and American environments of the seventeenth century, one can find indications in The Simple Cobler of its American origin.

In the first place, even a cursory comparison with the later works of Ward, written after his return to England, shows a difference in tone that can be only accounted for by the influence of Ward's American environment. There is more restraint, less humor, less individuality, and less power in the later books. This would indicate a changed point of view. In The Simple Cobler he seems

aware of a distinction created by his residence in New England. It is as though he knew that, coming from New England, his works would be given a different consideration from that accorded English productions. One feels the existence of a subtle and tenuous barrier between the author and his readers. Ward is addressing an English audience, but not quite as an Englishman; he is conscious of speaking from the vantage point of a simpler and clearer understanding. This vantage point is New England, and it is as a New Englander that he speaks. He constantly uses the first personal pronoun in speaking of the colony and her people. He resents the misconceptions of New England and New English ideas prevalent in England. "Such as have given or taken any unfriendly reports of us New-English, should do well to recollect themselves."[76] His very title blazons his connection with America. In his work on the Body of Liberties, Ward had identified himself with colonial life in a peculiar way. As the guardian of popular rights he had earned a place in the hearts of the common people, but at the expense, perhaps, of his influence with the magistrates. Thus he was a personal power in the colony. His consciousness of this gave a positive quality to The Simple Cobler lacking in his English productions. He stood on an individual reputation in America; as we shall see later, he was one of a group in England. It was as an American that he wrote and his attitude shows that he was conscious of the fact.

Idealism is not, of course, a purely American quality, but practicality of idealism, of a sort, is. We have already mentioned the superficial resemblance to Franklin in certain epigrammatic pass-

ages in The Simple Cobler. This quality of pithy phrasing practically vanishes in Ward's later books. The whimsical quality of Ward's humor seems American rather than English. It is droll, shrewd, and often carries an edge under its superficial carelessness. His religious ideas were not markedly modified by his residence here, although it is worth repeating that he expresses a belief in the possible union of Presbyterian and Independent on the basis of the New England Way.

On the negative side, it must be admitted that Ward shows no love or affection for America. From everything that we know of the man and his activities here, we must conclude that he regarded the years spent here as years of exile. But although he rejected America, he could not wholly escape her influence. His book is far more at home in the American tradition than in the English. It was circumstance as well as qualities of personal character that prevented him from identifying himself permanently with America. His short and apparently stormy ministry, his ex cathedra activities in the political affairs of the colony, worked against permanence of interest. Had he come over in the capacity of a private gentleman instead of as a clergyman, it is not inconceivable that he would have found a permanent place as a magistrate and leader. He might or might not have written The Simple Cobler under such circumstances, but had he done so it is a question if it would have seemed any more "American" than the book he did write.

A curious and left-handed indication of the Americanism of The Simple Cobler can be seen in the relative popularity the book achieved in America and England. It went through four editions in England within a year, and, as we shall see in a later chapter, exerted

a definite and traceable influence. An American edition did not appear until 1713, and no second edition until 1843. Any direct literary influence on this side of the ocean seems negligible. Only on the assumption that there was some subtle quality in The Simple Cobler derived from the environment in which it was written can the phenomena of its reception be explained. May not a parallel if not a kinship be drawn between the seventeenth century reception of the Simple Cobler and his book and the receptive curiosity accorded a Bret Harte or a Joaquin Miller by a later generation of Englishmen?

Notes to Chapter VII

1 Daniel Wait Howe: The Puritan Republic; Samuel Eliot Morison: Builders of the Bay Colony; Edward Newton: This Book Collecting Game.

2 Eben Greenough Scott: The Development of Constitutional Liberty in the English Colonies of America, p. 209-10. Perhaps the sanest comment is that made by Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, I:601.

3 Lucifer's Lacky or the Devils New Creation, etc. London, 1641. Among the many pamphlets that contain the cobbler figure might be mentioned: The Coblers Prophesie, by Robert Wilson, London, 1594; The Cobler of Canterburie, etc. London, 1608; A Swarm of Sectaries and Schismatiques etc. by John Taylor, London, 1641; The Resolution of the Roundheads etc. London, 1642. Reference is made in the Life of Whitgift, p. 296, to "The Cobbler's Book" as apparently associated in some way with the Martin tracts. This reference I have been unable to run down.

4 This study is based on the 4th edition. A full discussion of the variations in the different editions will be found in the notes of the edition of The Simple Cobler forming an appendix to this study.

5 Simple Cobler, p. 18.

6 Ibid., p. 27.

7 Ibid., p. 63.

8 Ibid., p. 65.

9 Ibid., p. 75.

10 Ibid., p.89. "And farewell Honor'd Friends
If happy dayes ensue,
You'l have some Guests from hence,
Pray welcome us to you."

11 In the first edition the Errata preceded the Hobnails; in the second and following editions this order was inverted.

12 Greene, p. 464.

13 "Before the end of 1642 the New England church independency had spoken out her sentiments, in what might be called an authoritative manner, through the most eminent of all her ministers, Mr. John Cotton of Boston." Thornton: Historical Relation of New England to the English Commonwealth, p. 51.

14 The resemblance was more superficial than fundamental, however, since the synods called in New England involved only a shadowy authority over the constituent congregations. Yet there can be no doubt that the New England churches were working toward a centralized system. Synods were held at Cambridge, August 30, 1637; August 20, 1643; and September 1, 1646. (Winthrop, I: 236; II:134; II:264; 269, 308, 330.) Winthrop proposed regular yearly convocations, but his suggestion was not adopted. (Felt I:319).

15 Dean: Memoir of Giles Firmin, p. 11.

16 Ibid., p. 10.

17 See Blunt's Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, etc.

18 Simple Cobler, p. 10.

19 Ibid., p. 5.

20 Ibid., p. 7.

21 Ibid., p. 19.

22 Ibid., p. 6.

23 The following passage (p. 12) has been quoted again and again: "It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is persecution to debarre them of it: I can rather stand amazed then reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Assertion worse than this (one excepted) I will petition to be chosen the universall Ideot of the world." In reading such passages it should be kept in mind that Ward believed in the unity of church and state; that to him religious toleration was very nearly synonymous with political licence.

24 Simple Cobler, p. 6.

25 Ibid., p. 4.

26 Ibid., p. 5.

27 Ibid., p. 7.

28 Ibid., p. 8.

29 Ibid., p. 5.

30 Ibid., p. 13.

31 Ibid., p. 23.

32 Ibid., p. 25.

33 Ibid., p. 25.

34 Ibid., p. 26.

35. Ibid., p. 26

36 Ibid., p. 28.

37 Ibid., p. 29.

38 Ibid., p. 29.

39 Ibid., p. 32.

40 Ibid., p. 32.

41 Ibid., p. 33.

42 Ibid., p. 35.

43 Ibid., p. 37.

44 Ibid., p. 38.

45 Ibid., p. 39.

46 Ibid., p. 40.

47 Ibid., p. 41.

48 The support of the ministry in New England was a particularly vexing question in the early days of the colony. Divorced from a centralized state organization, the individual congregations found it difficult to establish any uniform method of obtaining funds for the support of their churches. Cotton from the beginning advocated voluntary support of each minister by his own congregation. The general poverty of the towns often made this unsatisfactory, if not impossible. The magistrates frequently intervened in specific instances and ordered those who were not freemen or church members to pay their proportionate share. (Felt: i:331; 362.) Cotton maintained his position, and in 1639, on his advice, such voluntary offerings were collected quarterly in Boston. (Felt, i:389.) He opposed the support of the church by grants of land, revenues, or tithes. (Felt, I:336; Winthrop, i:295.) On this point Ward disagreed. It is clear that the lack of

financial support was much more keenly felt in the outlying and newer settlements than in Boston. That Ward felt the pinch of poverty has been made obvious enough, and it is not strange that under such circumstances he favoured a centralized and state supported church organization. One may hazard the guess that it was partly his ideas on this subject that caused friction in the Ipswich church. Cotton's position was, perhaps, more in harmony with the spirit of a new and democratic community, but Ward's contention was not necessarily a narrow one.

49 Simple Cobler, p. 42.

50 Ibid., p. 43.

51 Ibid., p. 47.

52 Ibid., p. 48.

53 Ibid., p. 48.

54 Ibid., p. 51.

55 Ibid., p. 52.

56 Ibid., p. 52.

57 Ibid., p. 52-3.

58 Ibid., p. 59.

59 Ibid.,p. 62.

60 Ibid., p. 62.

61 Ibid., p. 73-4.

62 Ibid., p. 75.

63. Winthrop, ii:62.

64 Simple Cobler, p. 77.

65 Ibid., p. 86-7.

66 Pierce, 206 ff. Simple Cobler, 7 ff.

67 In style and content this tract bears no resemblance to those of Marprelate. It is a satire on conditions in Scotland.

68 See in this connection Halliwell's introduction to his edition of Tarlton's Jests, and News out of Purgatory. (p. xiv). "Harvey in his 'Four Letters and Certain Sonnets', 1592, frequently alludes to Tarlton. . . . 'Tarlton's amplification A per se A' mentioned at page 34 of that work may allude to a work of Tarlton's or perhaps to his system of extending words for the sake of producing a ridiculous compound, as for instance his answer, 'without all parasquestion.'"

69 England's Looking Glass, p. 17.

70 The complete list of Biblical references is as follows: Ezekiel 24:10,11; 43:11; 16:30. Titus 3:10. Acts 20:30, etc. Galatians 1:8,9. I Timothy 6:13, 16. John 8:56; 4:37,38. Jeremiah 2:31; 23:10; 7:29; 47:6,7; 18:1,10. Hebrews 11:5. Zephaniah 1:7,8. Isaiah 7:20,23; 13:20; 45:24,25; 57:17,19. Psalms 68:31. I Corinthians 11:14. Job 34:29,30. I Samuel 3:12. Habakkuk 2:20. Revelations 21:18. [illegible] 7:25. Hosea 8:13,14.

71 Francisco Suares was a Spanish theologian born at Granada, January 5, 1548, died at Lisbon September 25, 1617. He was of the Jesuit Order. His book, "Defensio catholicae fidei contra anglicanae sectae errores', attracted wide attention. James I protested to Phillippe III that it struck at the throne and majesty of kings. It was also condemned in France. Valentia

probably refers to Pierre de Valencia, a Spanish jurisconsul, born at Cordova, 1545, died at Dodina 1620. Because of his great knowledge he was called to the court of Philippe III to lend dignity to the crown. (D.N.B.)

72 Simple Cobler, p. 8.

73 Ibid., p. 28. Ante, p. 44, 198.

74 Ibid., p. 42.

75 Ibid., p. 10. A further account of Drebble will be found in Mander's Vies des Peintres.

76 Ibid., p. 3.

Chapter VIII

EZEKIEL 10:14

1646-1647

Early in 1647, probably in the month of January,[1] Nathaniel Ward again set foot on the soil of Old England, having endured the rigors and discomforts of a "hard winter voyage".[2] The hardship of such a crossing in the frail sailing vessels of the seventeenth century we may leave to the imagination. Courage and a strong sense of duty were needed to face it. Ward tells us that he returned "to doe what service I could to my Country, in preserving Truth and promoting Peace."[3] And it was this spirit that sustained him during the tempestuous voyage. We do not know the name of the vessel that brought him, nor his port of disembarking, and we can only surmise his activities immediately after landing. With his son James,[4] he doubtless proceeded directly to London, joining his younger brother John who was residing there as a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Since 1640 John Ward[5] had been rector of St. Clements, Ipswich, and while he never attained the popularity and fame of his brother Samuel, whose name is so identified with that town, he had become a clergyman of considerable influence. As one of the super-added members of the Assembly he had been in constant attendance, and had preached before both the Lords and the Commons, the sermons being considered worthy of publication. Through his assistance Nathaniel was brought at once into touch with the leaders of the Presbyterian Parliament.

In April, 1647, a pamphlet, probably by the Rev. John Wilson, of Boston, Massachusetts, appeared. Its title was: The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England. To it is prefixed a notice "To the Reader" signed by Nathaniel Ward.[6] It is possible that Ward brought the manuscript with him and attended to its publication, but these facts are not certain.

The Simple Cobler had already appeared, or was about to issue from the press at the time of Ward's arrival in London. Its immediate popularity brought him recognition and placed him in a position of some prominence among the pamphleteers of the day. He had come to England with a fixed purpose. We have seen that the tenor of his book was compromise between the opposing factions of Presbyterians and Independents. It was as an instrument of mediation that he conceived his book, and he dreamed of being a leader of a compromise movement. But he found himself dealing with forces and conditions with which he was bewilderingly out of touch. He had been away from England for twelve years. In those years the spirit of the Puritan movement had changed. The Puritans were no longer the oppressed party. The power of Crown and Episcopacy against which, in the person of Laud, he had previously matched strength was broken. The leaders in that first struggle, Prynne and Wentworth, Coke and Eliot, had passed from the stage. Even their immediate successors, Pym and Hampden, were dead, and new leaders of a different stamp and with a different purpose were rising to power at the head of an army the like of which neither England nor the world had before seen. The figures of Ireton, Fairfax and Cromwell were already commanding the destinies

England. The leadership in Parliament had devolved upon the weaker shoulders of Holles and Waller. It is not strange that Ward found himself bewildered and at a loss. The triumph of the Puritan arms had released democratic elements of self-assertiveness and intolerance that seemed to threaten the stability of authorized government in the person of the king. The difference between what he had left and what he found on his return was rather sadly if grimly expressed when he wrote: "I hope I shall make and keep my peace with the Lord as for men I hope not for it, till hee shall vouchsafe to give us more humility and feare then I can yet see in this Land, which two graces seeme to me to bee much more wanting ther they ever were in my dayes."

The January of his arrival saw the closing acts of the First Civil War. In that north the Scottish army delivered the king to Parliament and, accepting 400,000 pounds as recompense for their share in the struggle, withdrew from English soil. The cessation of hostilities shifted the burden of activity from the Army to Parliament. This body was strongly Presbyterian; it was in a sense the Presbyterian Party itself. During its long life it had been outgrown by the country that had elected it. Of England as a whole it was no longer truly representative, for, in its church policy at least, it reflected largely the opinion of London alone. Its leadership, too, was vacillating; in statesmanship neither Holles nor Waller could compare with Ireton and Fairfax. Above all other issues of the day it placed as paramount the establishing of Presbyterianism which implied the stamping out of the Sectaries. With this idea Ward may have been in full accord, but of the deeper political and social

results of the civil war he was only uneasily and dimly aware. Although neither party at this time considered or foresaw the abolition of the monarchy, the Army represented more advanced and varied political views than Parliament. The rank and file of the Army as well as most of the officers were lukewarm or openly antagonistic to the Presbyterian form of church organization. They sought either complete freedom of religious thought or at least a broad and liberal toleration of religious opinion. Moreover they saw, perhaps not too clearly, that the victory they had won over the forces of the King was primarily social and political, and they were determined to preserve at all costs the liberties their swords had gained.

Thus at the end of the First Civil War all the immediate issues that faced Parliament were summed up and made concrete in the existence of the Army itself, and in February Parliament set about the task of its disbanding. The Army numbered between twenty and thirty thousand men. The expense of its maintenance was great; the soldiers' pay was some forty-three weeks in arrears, and the need for so large a force was ended. After much debate, Parliament voted to retain twelve thousand men under arms for service in Ireland under new officers -- good Presbyterians all. The remaining regiments were to be disbanded. The Army, however, refused to disband except on its own terms.[8] Parliament, with growing suspicion and dislike of the New Model, on March 30th branded as "enemies to the state and disturbers of the peace" such officers and soldiers as resisted by petition or controversy the orders of Parliament. This declaration only aroused the Army to more decisive action. Parliamentary deputations

were met with cries of "Justice!" The offer of eight weeks' pay was rejected with irritated scorn. On June 2nd a body of troops led by Cornet Joyce appeared at Holmby House and seized the person of the King. From Triploe Heath the assembled Army, a virtual armed Parliament, each soldier having a voice in the proceedings through elected regimental representatives called "adjutators", sent to Parliament its "Manifesto", and "for the obtaining of these" drew nearer the city. In the background stood the King, serenely and cynically waiting for Parliament and Army to "extirpate" each other.

It is not difficult to estimate with some certainty Ward's position in this controversy. Nothing could be farther from his sympathies than the action of the Army in taking into its own hands powers that manifestly belonged to Parliament. The illegality of its acts, the illegality of its very existence in the face of Parliamentary orders to disband was repugnant to every thought of his legally trained mind. He was not blind to the inherent rightness of the Army's demands, but for their methods he could find nothing but condemnation. Equally distasteful to him was the vacillating action of Parliament. Those weeks in which the Army alternately advanced and retreated as Parliament yielded to or resisted its demands must have been weeks trying to his patience and temper.

In its ecclesiastical policy Parliament was showing consistency if not wisdom of action. The Assembly of Divines, Presbyterian almost to a man, had been ordered to revise the Articles, and to draw up a new Confession of Faith and a Directory of Public Worship. The results of their deliberations were duly enacted into law in the form

of a series of Ordinances. Laws were passed in rapid succession setting up Presbyteries throughout the country, and on May 20, 1647, the First Synod of London met in St. Paul's. Ward may have been present on this occasion, for if he was in London, as is probable, he very likely attended. Parliament knew, however, that the power of Presbyterianism was negligible as long as the Army remained intact in whose ranks were many who had never taken the Covenant. Measures set in motion to press conformity steadily increased the friction between the two parties. The Army drew nearer to London. On June 16th they accused eleven members of the Commons, including Holles and Waller, of treason and demanded their trial. The eleven members withdrew and again returned; useless debate and fruitless negotiation proceeded. The Army, restless with impatience, advanced steadily upon the city; the nerves of London were taut, and at this juncture Nathaniel Ward was asked to preach before the House of Commons in St. Margaret's Westminster at the montly Fast, June 30, 1647.

It was an honour that was hedged with danger, and Ward would willingly have declined it. The text given him was Ezekiel 19:14, "And fire is gone out of a rod of her branches, which hath devoured her fruit, so that she hath no strong rod to be a sceptre to rule. This is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation." The text was a fit one for the times, but any discourse honestly based upon it must of necessity give offense to many. It was a text that invited partisanship, and doubtless the Parliamentarian leaders saw in it a weapon they expected bo be wielded for their benefit against the Army. But Ward, from his middle position, could

see as much to lament in the acts of the body to whom he must preach as in the Army that had drawn its girdle of steel about the city. After much hesitation, and on the advice of friends, he consented to deliver the sermon.

In more ways than one it was a particularly inopportune time for a man of Ward's temperament and ideas to appear upon the public platform. The occasion called for a high degree of diplomacy and tact. Neither of these qualities was particularly marked in Ward's make-up. A colorless sermon, mildly and conventionally asserting the doctrines of Presbyterianism, a sermon that sharpened no existing animosities, and dealt with points of theology rather than politics, would doubtless have been the opportune one. The two opposing parties were essentially at a deadlock. What the preacher might say on that June morning could have little actual effect on the situation; it could do little more than reflect the individual opinions of the speaker. Only a genius of the highest rank, with personal and oratorical powers of the first order, could to any degree have changed or modified the opinions of his listeners at the moment. And Nathaniel Ward was not a great orator. He spoke with difficulty in so large a church; tired from recent travel, conscious of the opposition his words would awaken, he hesitated and blundered in his delivery. A smile passed over the faces of his hearers at an inept phrase. The unacceptable nature of his material only aggravated his ineffectual delivery. He spoke to closed minds on a subject that asked for open-mindedness. A more skillful pilot might have steered around the reefs that lay hidden beneath Ezekiel

19:14, but Ward's nature was too straightforward and too logical. His legal mind saw the illegality of the Army's action as clearly as it saw the weakness of Parliament's position. To him the King was not a shifty and unscrupulous individual, but a part of the great governmental system of England itself. His sermon was a logical plea for the restoration of order according to existing laws of constitutional authority. It subordinated to these contentions the ideas of Army and Parliament alike. As a step toward conciliation it was a complete failure, and so far as Ward's personal fortunes were concerned very nearly a disaster.

His censure fell heaviest on the Army, but the dissatisfaction of the Commons was so great that they did not vote him the customary piece of plate, nor order the sermon printed, nor even give him thanks for his services.[10] It is likely that this action, or lack of action, on the part of the House, amounting as it did almost to direct censure, was in part political. To have commended the sermon and to have ordered its printing would, at the moment, have seemed to the Army a direct support of Ward's strictures on them, and Parliament was exerting every effort to conciliate the Army leaders without actually yielding its position. This may in part account for the course that was taken.

Ward refused to publish the sermon on his own initiative, but friends, hearing that a garbled version was preparing for the press, ignored the author's desires and published the sermon from a copy he had sent them, prefixing to it the letter with which he had accompanied the text. This letter makes clear many of the circum-

stances of the sermon's delivery as well as showing Ward's own reaction to the situation.

Loving Friends,

To satisfie your expectations I am willing to send you a true coppy of my Sermon as I wrote it, but I confesse in somethings a little differing from my preaching it: wanting time and rest, having travelled much a little before the day, and striving to speak loud in so great a church, I soon discerned that I could not bee Master of my thoughts and memory; but forgat somethings materiall, and expressed two or three passages inconveniently, which sounded ill in mine owne eares. I was very loth to read my notes more than some scriptures: had I done it, I presume I had not offended any: but my judgement is altogether against it.

It hath not beene my manner to grieve any mans spirit in the Pulpit, But in a distempered time when occurrences of State are so violent and various that a man speaks for his life, it is hard to speak pertinently to the case, and acceptably to all hearers, specially when there are so many counter parties, tuning their eares to the key of their owne interests, insomuch that I scarce know any man who lyes not now under some pressing prejudice, most men seeme to Exercere hanc artem industriously: and God seems to pinion up every mans armes, whose heart is set to doe him or the State any true service, but I am farre from excusing my selfe any farther than I may or ought.

Two or three things I heare pleased not, 1 my perswading so much to lament the King, wherein I acknowledge I let fall one redundant expression. I am very ignorant of Gods minde if it be not a very Christian, and at this time a very necessary duty; I thinke I

had spoke nothing to the Text, if I had not spoke to that which is the maine poynt in it. I earnestly wish that time doth not drive us to a more bitter lamentation for his carriage and miscariage, then now we are able or willing to forsee, I desire to bewail myselfe that I can bewaile him no more. Yet if I may beleeve myselfe, hot or cold, I am as farre frome being a Malignant as any man that heard mee.

Another was some passages concerning the Army, which I have sent you verbatim, I acknowledge I can but pitty and pray for them, and so far as God who is able to worke good out of evill, makes them instruments to awaken the Parliament to expedite what is necessary, I looke on them in hope they will doe no great harme, but when I consider, how they have begun so vast and strange an enterprize without Warrant, I cannot but feare they will proceed besides and beyond rule, if God lead not their leaders, with his onely wise hand, little doe good men know what spirits themselves, much lesse rude men, are of, if once they be imbroyled in heate of action and opposition.

The other was, the word <u>carting</u>, which you shall meete withal in its place, it grieved me to see divers smile at it with sleight spirits in so solemne a time. I weighed it before and advised with a godly prudent Divine about it, who said it was no unfit expression, but might be well used. The Christ calls himself a Husbandman, into which calling it falls, carting is as honest and honorable a workeand word as Carpentering. I thinke I shall ere long shew you a good commentator on Ezek. who saith, Christus, or

spiritus Christi est optimus & peritisimus Auriga &c.

Some of you know how truly unwilling I was to come upon any publique Stage, knowing how perillous and jealous the times are, and how seriously I declined this text, suspecting the very words of it would be ungratefull to some. I consulted with seven intimate friends about it, and another much cooler and peaceable, adhered to my owne minde led mee, as they can beare mee Witnesse, six of them urged mee to this, yet my heart did constantly discourage me from it, though upon many thoughts, I could not conceive any subject so necessary as to perswade the restauration and conservation of our lost authority, in a time when Government has fallen so low, and mens Spirits risen so high: that if it be not suddenly looked into, no humane eye can see any helpe or hope how it can be served up againe to its due altitude, unlesse it be by him who can doe what he please.

I trust I shal not be grieved that I was not thanked or ordered to print, I am not only above, but averse to both. I have had more thankes than I can tell what to doe with, and many justifie me I feare too much, and more importunity to print then I have or shall listen unto, for I see the nakednesse of it well enough. This I acknowledge grieves mee sadly that coming a hard Winter voyage over the vast raging Seas to doe what service I could to my Country, in preserving Truth, and promoting Peace, I am obstructed so fare as I am. I am not ignorant that there are some troubled at my being here, and watching an opportunity to weaken me and my worke, which I have attended faithfully, meekly, and not without some successe, but I am not altogether discouraged. I hope I shall make and keep

my peace with the Lord as for men I hope not for it, till hee shall vouchsafe to give us more humility and feare then I can yet see in this Land which two graces seeme to me to bee much more wanting then they ever were in my dayes.

I pray let none take any copy of this Sermon, but such as are wise, and friends to me, and have no itch to publish it. I would not adde offence to offences. It hath beene often told mee with some confidence that it is already in the Presse, but where and by whom, I cannot learne: I have used means and friends to prevent it. If it should by an other Copy, I shall then advise with you what to doe.

I intreat you, if in perusing it you find any evill in the matter or manner, you would charge me faithfully with it; I shall find a time and way to unsay and undoe it, in the meane while pray for him that should be

Yours if ever a time come againe
when men may be their owne.

Nath. Ward

This letter shows Ward's own disappointment, not only at the failure of his sermon but also at the difficulties that face him in his efforts to carry out his plan of compromise. The phrase, "There are some. . . watching an opportunity to weaken me and my worke" may perhaps refer to Hugh Peters whose personal bitterness against Ward when he later crossed swords with him in the pamphleteer's arena is marked. Just how much the printed sermon varied from the spoken version we cannot know; Ward says, "in some things material".

Apparently his remarks on the Army, at least, are not substantially different.

He commences his sermon by dividing political institutions into Ordinance and Administration. The state must be justly formed and its laws righteous. To enforce the laws, pious and virtuous men, diligent in their duties, must be placed in office. His text, he says, confines him to a consideration of Administration only. The conditions which justify the text he sums up: "If weak or unfit men are elected into publique places, if Rulers prove defective in their Actuall Administration; If every wheele of Government keep not its proper station and due motion, but prove so vicious or stupine that they lose their strength, it brings a Commonwealth to a Common misery."[11] These conditions bear heavily on the righteous man. "The righteous has an interest and accesse into all the sanctuarties and Cittadells under Heaven, yet he must appeare in the open Streets, or on Hownsloe-Heath, or under a hedge, or in a Ditch, or where he can shift best for himselfe."[12] He conceives of the state as divinely instituted for, "The Holy Ghost saith that Christ should sit upon the Throne of David and his kingdome, He shall order and establish it. There is no establishing of Kingdoms but by Order."[13] In scriptural texts he shows that when authority fails religion declines, and when authority fails injustice thrives.

Turning to his "Application", he takes up those things in the present situation of England that are "for a lamentation". "Let us first Mourn and Lament for our Royal Scepter that he is thus weakened and unfitted to rule. . . if God would soften our hearts to

lament him as we should, it is probable he would soften his heart to lament his subjects as he ought."[14] Ward still has faith in the King; he does not seem to realize how utterly untrustworthy Charles is, nor how little he can be relied upon to deal justly with his people. But beside the Royal Scepter stands the "National Scepter, this present parliament." Here, too, there is much to "sadly lament." Resorting to direct address, he speaks plainly to the men before him. "I conceive it would please God and the Land well if you would please to give some generall directions, if it were but by way of request to the people for a choice of Parliament-men."[15] This blunt demand for the election of a new Parliament must have been especially irritating to the members of the Long Parliament, already sensitive to the growing antagonism of the country to their long tenure of office, but determined at all costs to retain their position of authority. With equal bluntness he attacks their lack of agreement among themselves. "If you agree not in your Counsells we shall hardly agree in our courses; if you mutiny in words we shall bee too ready to mutiny with our swords."[16] He goes on to charge that they have failed in their ecclesiastical policy is as much as they have failed to establish unity under the "Scepter of Christ." The crisply phrased truths that he uttered would have been galling enough from the lips of any preacher, but from one whose name was so closely linked with New England and her "way" they were peculiarly irritating.

With fearless if rash directness, he touches on the points of controversy between Parliament and Army. Did a certain Oliver

Cromwell sitting with impassive face smile inwardly as the speaker cried: "If you have not beene early enough in rewarding the Army with just payment, and due honour, I humbly intreat you to lament it. If any of the honourable House have erred in discouraging or disparaging them, I intreat them to lament it. . . . If the zeale of maintaining the Power and Liberty of the Parliament, and the Peace of the Commonwealth has moved you to prevent or reject some Petitions, though they be ill countenanced, and thereby caused the people to feare a loss of their popular liberty, I likewise humbly intreate you would lament it."[17] But it was the Army's turn next, and the passages against them are barbed with a flash of that edged style that gives The Simple Cobler its force. "Let us lament that so good an Army should be so illguided as to do what they do without warrant from God or state, so farre as wise men can yet discerne."[18] He brands the act of seizing the king as "an act better becoming a John a Leyden, Knipper Dolling or Jack Code." Concerning the Sectarian activities of the Army he laments that "many of the Army have bemeared so many ignorant Countrymen and Townes-folk with their vicious and blasphemous opinions and manners."[19] But he ends his attack with a dignity that is no less scathing in its effect. "Let us lament that such an English Army have cast so much well deserved honour in the dust, and such a black veyle over the face of the Gospell."[20]

It is not strange that among the audience as they filed slowly out into the shadow of Westminster Abbey there were few who found either inspiration or strength in the sermon they had just

listened to. As they lingered in groups to discuss the preacher's words, Parliament leader and Army adherent alike must have found little that could give courage, and little that they could reconcile with their own beliefs. Ezekiel was not the prophet who could show the way to men struggling with the problems that faced England on the morning of June 30, 1647. Nor was Nathaniel Ward the best man to find in Ezekiel and his Lamentations a key to the difficulties of the day. Perusing the printed pages of his sermon in the discreet quiet of a 20th century library, the present day reader, however much he may admire the courageand fearlessness of the preacher, can help but find some cause for a lamentation in the ironic fate that placed Ward in the pulpit on that particular day with that particular text before him.

That the sermon caused something of a stir is obvious from the threat of a pirated and inaccurate publication of it. Garbled and second-hand accounts of what Ward had said spread through London; and, from the wording of the letter quoted above, it is clear that the threatened version would have been even more damaging to Ward than the sermon itself. It was this fear that caused his friends to override his commands and print his own version. The authoritative text, at the same time that it cleared away any misapprehensions concerning it, clearly indicated the position that was to be Ward's among the contending forces. It robbed him of any hope of individual leadership with either party, for it placed him in sharp opposition to the Army, and seriously weakened his influence with the leaders of Parliament. While his lot was cast with the Presby-

terians as opposed to the Independents, his strictures on the political policies of the Presbyterians threw him for support upon a small and minor group of moderates. His plea for King and Throne, while acceptable to many in theory, was inexpedient in a practical sense as long as Charles Stuart was the monarch who had to be considered. Henceforth Ward was identified with a group within the Presbyterian party but not with the dominant faction itself.

He did not, however, remain inactive. It would seem that following his sermon before Parliament, he spoke and wrote in support of Parliamentary authority without ever favoring at any time any specific policy of that body. His position became, therefore, increasingly antagonistic to the aims of the Army.

Following his appearance in the pulpit of St. Margaret's, he probably preached in various London churches, although there is no specific record of the fact. Stephen Winthrop, the son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, in the postscript of a letter to his father written from London on July 29, 1647, says, "Mr. Ward hath made himselfe odious and rediculous here by books and sermons."[21] Young Winthrop had joined the Army, and in the body of his letter speaks favorably of its actions. If his use of the plural is not mere hyperbole, there must have been other pamphlets than The Simple Cobler, and other sermons before or after the one before Parliament. The postscript at least shows how strongly Ward's activities were disliked by the adherents of the Army.

The months of July and August saw turmoil, suspicion, doubt and fear spreading throughout London. Rumors of a Scottish

invasion in behalf of the King were widely current. A London mob, breaking into Parliament, forced that body to recall the ejected Presbyterian leaders. This act was the signal for the long threatened march of the Army, and on August 6th the troops entered the city. Parliament, however, remained in the control of the Presbyterians until August 20th, when Cromwell, posting a regiment of the cavalry in Hyde Park, forced the withdrawal of the leading Presbyterian leaders, and gave an uncertain majority to the Independents.

At this critical juncture Ward's next publication made its appearance.[22] Its title was apt and timely: A Religious Retreat Sounded to a Victorious Army.[23] His name does not appear on the title-page but there can be no reasonable doubt of his authorship.[24] The tract was evidently widely circulated for it went through two editions within the year. The moderation with which he addresses his opponents is manifest in the following passage. "It hath pleased God whom we all acknowledge to bee the Lord of our Hosts, and the King of our Peace, so to overshadow and over-rule these late sinfull and threatening tumults, that what good men feared and evill men hoped is not come to passe; instead of Blood and Rapine, wee have met with quietness and innocency: blessed bee his Name, he hath guided you with such moderation that all honest men honour you for your honesty."[25] It is characteristic of Ward that he freely and publicly gives credit to his foe when credit is due. It is equally characteristic that he addresses the leaders rather than the rank and file, for the plainly expressed reason that he mistrusts the crowd. "Knowing sundry of your chief Councell, to whom I chiefly

direct my speech, to be well acquainted with the Roman tongue, I shall not trouble myself to put them into English, and the rather because I would not have the common people heare all I say."[28] He has no desire to stir up fruitless controversy, he only wishes to make logically clear the unsoundness of the Army's position. His purpose is threefold: to urge the retention under arms of only such forces as are needed for the actual safety of the country; to urge above all that Parliament be left free and unconstrained to carry out the will of the nation; and finally to show the errors and temptations that lie in the path of the Army if it continues to override the law and usurp authorities that are rightly vested in Parliament. He fears the effect upon England's position among foreign nations if the Army actually assumes the supreme authority, a possibility that seems to him inherent in the sending of petitions to the Army. The danger of creating a large body of professional soldiers is one of the ills he finds lurking in the failure of the Army to disband. He deplores the toleration of the religious sects prevalent in the ranks of the Army, and as a consequence already spreading among the people at large. He warns, too, against hypocrisy and overconfidence, the germs of which he finds already present in the Army personnel.

The central point of Ward's attack is the unlawfulness of the Army's existence in the face of Parliament's order to disband. The pamphlet is one of many to take this attitude, and to point out that the authority of the Army rested only upon the strength of its arms, that it had no mandate from the people for

its actions, was in fact a revolutionary force, and as such constituted a threat against all law and order in England. To fight against a despotic King in defence of the rights of a constitutional Parliament was one thing; to fight against that Parliament and the constitutional rights of the people it represented, quite another. It was despotism of an even more sinister sort than that represented by Charles Stuart himself. Ward refuses to consider expediency or circumstance any justification for illegal action. He ignores the Army's contention that Parliament, by its own unjust and arbitrary action, by its refusal to adjourn and call a new election, had ceased to represent the Will of England. His argument is drawn wholly from history and legal precedent. From his reading of the past, he can find no lasting justification of marial rule. "If you can tell me of any such Army as you that rose against the State and minds of the Country to attaine your supposed ends, that at length vanished not into nought; I will acknowledge the shortness of my memory and reading."[27]

The tract is an able presentation of Ward's position; it is free from personalities or partisan jibes. That it went through two editions shows the leading position it occupied among the pamphlets of its type. Its appearance was shortly followed by two replies. The first was from the pen of Hugh Peters,[28] another New England clergyman, who, like Ward, had returned to England to bear a part in the political struggles of the mother country. Peters had early cast his lot with that of the Army and had reached a high place in the counsel of its leaders. Whether

he played his part well or ill does not concern us here. He paid for his acts with his life when a Stuart again sat upon the throne. His was a very different type of mind from that of Ward's. He lacked Ward's breadth of background and his ability for clear analysis; but he had the facility of thought that can produce action at the moment. His pamphlet, "A Word for the Armie and Two Words to the Kingdome",[29] appeared October 11, 1647.[30] It is much more than a reply to Ward. In fact it is not that at all, although the appearance of The Religious Retreat was probably the immediate cause of its composition. Peters opens his work with a remonstrance at the large numbers of irresponsible and anonymous tracts that were coming from the press. He urges Parliament to establish and official gazette as a medium for the frank exchange of opinions between the parties. He complains that the Army is charged with responsibility for all the evils that beset the country regardless of their real source. He mentions Ward's tract only as one among many: "another pedanticke sounds a Retreat, who being nameless will not endure a Charge, the marrow of his Divinity, non-obedience. . . . But I look upon the Author as great a stranger to the Armie as he is often to his owne principles, and his whole course a trade of Retreating, and leave him to another pen."[31] Peters then passes on to a broad justification of the Army on the grounds of necessity, justice, and expediency. The pamphlet is as much aimed at such works as Edward's Gangrenae, which is also specifically mentioned, as at Ward's book. From the above quotation, it is clear that Peters was aware that another and more specific answer

to the Religious Retreat was in preparation. This was probably the anonymous pamphlet Resona Recessus.[32]

This pamphlet is more of a personal attack upon Ward than an answer to his arguments. Its author was plainly aware of Ward's identity, for he says, "Sir, You must give me leave to fear that you have left your intelligence somewhere about Agawam." His anger is also directed against the activities of Emmanuel men in general. "Errors are at a far easier rate enumerated then convicted, a faculty I confess commonly exercised by men of your college." This suggests perhaps that the author was not of the Puritan party, but identified with one of the sects that Ward had attacked. There is a personal animus evident throughout the Resona Recessus. "I must confess if that be what you mean, as plentiful a shower of Obliquity, allegations, absurdities and self disappointments hath rained down from your cloudy tracts as I have usually met withal." Here we have again the suggestion that Ward's pen had previously been active, but no tracts are specifically named.

The Resona Recessus seems to have gone unanswered, as it deserved to do, but Peters' tract called forth an answer in A Word to Mr. Peters and Two words for the Parliament and Kingdom,[33] published November 9, 1647. The unknown author takes up specific quotations from Peters' book. These usually are of a trivial or personal sort. The book shows a strong personal animosity toward Peters. The writer quarrels with phrases rather than ideas. He takes opportunity to defend the author of A Religious Retreat, although as we have seen, Peters did little more than mention that

tract. Taking up the word pedanticke which Peters had used in reference to Ward, he says, "But why do you call him a Pedantick? Is it because his poverty makes him go on foot, when you in pomp can ride on horseback? Doth this make you vapour over your poore Brother? Well he is such a Pedantick that will never lacquey it after your designes, nor hold a styrrop while you endevour to get into the sadle of Promotion."[64] The inspiration of the passage is the writer's dislike of Peters rather than any real necessity for defending the Retreater. Indicating something of the place Ward's ideas held in the thought of the time, and showing once more that the Army's refusal to disband was the point upon which the real divergence of opinion hinged, is the passage, "You say the arrow of his Divinity is non-obedience; and truly 'tis so, yet he is not alone, there are many times 7000 in England that are of his mind, that non-obedience is the best that can be made of the Armies refusall to disband when commanded."[65]

Whether Ward had any hand in the writing of this pamphlet other, perhaps, than foreknowledge of its preparation will be considered later. The tract has sometimes been regarded as his, but it was undoubtedly from the pen of an associate. It is entirely lacking in the scholarly and logical ordering of material that is characteristic of Ward's other works, and it descends to a level of personal abuse that was foreign to Ward's nature.

Notes to Chapter VIII

1 Dean, p. 91.

2 Letter prefaced to Ward's Sermon before Parliament.

3 Ibid.

4 His daughter Susan with her family probably proceeded at once to Colchester to join her husband, Giles Firmin.

5 See Dean, p. 162. The only fact I can add to Dean's sketch of Rev. John Ward is the date of his removal to Ipswich, which was 1640. (Bacon's Annals of Ipswich, p. 358).

6 The notice is as follows:

To the Reader

Hee that pen'd these following Relations, is a Minister of Christ in New England so eminently godly and faithfull, that what he here reports, as an eye or an eare witnesse, is not to be questioned; Were he willing his name should bee mentioned, it would bee an abundent, if not a redundent, Testimoniall to all that know him.

Nathan. Warde

7 Letter prefaced to the Sermon before Parliament.

8 Gardner, iii:40.

9 See Dean, p. 103.

10 Grey's Examination of Neal's Second Volume, p. 434. Cited by Dean, p. 97.

11 Sermon before Parliament, p. 7.

12 Sermon before Parliament, p. 8.

13 Ibid., p. 9.

14 Ibid., p. 15.

15 Ibid., p. 17.

16 Ibid., p. 19.

17 Ibid., p. 20.

18 Ibid., p. 22.

19 Ibid., p. 23.

20 Ibid., p.24.

21 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. 2nd series, xi:7.

22 Thomason's date is August 27th.

23 The full title will be found in the bibliography.

24 Richard Baxter states that Ward is the author in A Holy Commonwealth, London, 1659. A copy owned by Increase Mather has the words "Nath. Ward, Author" inscribed on it in Mather's own hand. (Dean, p. 172). See also passages from Resona Recessus quoted in these pages.

25 A Religious Retreat, p. 2.

26 Ibid., p. 4.

27 Ibid., p. 19.

28 Hugh Peters (1599-1660) came to New England in 1635, where he was for a time pastor at Salem, succeeding Roger Williams. He returned to England in 1641.

29 The full title is: A Word for the/Armie/ and two words to the/Kingdome/ to Cleare the One/ and cure the other./ Forced in much plainesse and bre-/vity from their faithful Servant,/-/

Hugh Peters./ - / Nunc preparandus, & acri/ Fingendus sine sine rotar-/-/ London,/ Printed by M. Simmons for Giles Calvert at the black/ Spread-Eagle at the West end of Pauls, 147.

30 Thomason's date.

31 A Word for the Armie, p. 7.

32 The full title is: Resona Recessus/ The Retreat beaten backward Being/ A short Answer to a subtle treatie,/ Entitled/ A Religious Retreat sounded/ to a Religious Army/ London/ Printed by Mathew Symonds for Henry/ Overton in Popes-Head-Alley 1647.

33 The full title is: A Word to Mr. Peters,/ and/ Two Words for the Parliament/ and Kingdom./ or,/ An Answer to a scandalous Pam-/ phlet, entitled, A Word for the Armie,/ and two Words to the Kingdom:/ subscribed by Hugh Peters./ Wherein/ The Authority of Parliament is infringed,/ The fundamentall Laws of the Land subverted;/ The famous City of London Blemished; and all/ the godly Ministers of the City scandalized./ In vindication of all which, this small Treatise/ is published,/-/ By a Friend to the Parliament, City, and Ministers of it./-/ Prov. 18.17./ He that is first in his own cause seemeth just: but his neighbour/ comes and searcheth him./ - / London:/ Printed by Fr: Neile for Tho. Underhill at the Signe of the/ Bible in Woodstreet. 1647.

(Thomason's date is November 9.)

34 A Word to Mr. Peters, p. 7.

35 Ibid., p. 8.

Chapter IX

SHENFIELD

1647-1652

We know little of Ward's personal life during the eight months of his London residence. The problem of tracing his movements is complicated by the existence of other men with the same name and profession.[1] His publications best indicate what his activities may have been. If he had hoped for a place in Parliamentarian councils, the adverse reception of his sermon ended the expectation. When he wrote the Religious Retreat, his fortunes would seem to have been at low ebb, for the author of A Word to Mr. Peters specifically alludes to Ward's poverty. But with the appearance of A Religious Retreat, his prospects brightened. The pamphlet definitely and ably supported the Parliament in its struggle against the Army. Its popularity proved its effectiveness. Recognition of Ward's service seems to have been prompt and tangible, taking the form of his appointment, September 14, 1647,[2] to the rectory of St. Mary the Virgin in the little town of Shenfield in Essex. This was a very comfortable living, worth in glebe and tithes one hundred and twenty pounds.[3] The shadow of poverty at last ceased to darken the life of the Simple Cobler. Shenfield was only a few miles from his former parish at Stondon. It must have been with something of a sense of homecoming that he settled down in the Shenifield rectory and identified himself once more with the ecclesiastical life of Essex. Some of his old friends still held

their livings, among them Samuel Collins of Braintree, from whose correspondence we have quoted at some length in an earlier chapter. Ward's son-in-law, Giles Firmin, was probably living at Colchester in the northern part of the same county.[4] Although the younger man may have held somewhat more liberal views, (he had been attacked by Edwards in the Gangrenae) the two men had much in common. Both espoused Presbyterianism, Firmin's ordination being, in fact, the only instance of ordination by presbytery known to have taken place in Essex. It might be noted in passing, that, after leaving Colchester, Firmin was appointed to the living at Shalford, also in Essex, sometime in 1648. He held this place until the Restoration, being ejected in 1662. He then returned to the practice of medicine, although in 1672 he took out a licence to preach in his house at Ridgewell. He died in 1697.[5] That his relations with his father-in-law were friendly and close can be inferred from the frequency with which he mentions and quotes "my Father Ward" in his written works.

Ward presumably entered upon his new duties immediately. On accepting his living by gift of the Presbyterian Parliament, he must have renounced any hope of bringing about a compromise between the Presbyterial and Congregational systems. As we shall see, he very soon publicly acknowledged his adherence to the Presbyterian party.

Shenfield is a small country town on the road between Mountnessing and Brentwood some nineteen miles from London. The church, the older portions of which date back to the fifteenth century, has been much renovated since Ward's time. It is a small but not unattractive structure.[6] The change from the turmoil of London to the quiet security of a small rural parish must have been welcome to Ward after the uncertainties of a vicar's existence in the city. But life in Essex was not wholly peaceful. The county had been turbulent in the days of Laud, and it seems to have become even more so during the days of Puritan domination. There was much violence and rioting. Some ninety-two of the parochial clergy had been sequestered from their livings and their places filled by Presbyterians. Essex formed one of the seven associated counties of the Eastern Association, the others being Norfolk, Suffolk, Hartford, Cambridge, Huntingdon and Lincoln. It was to be the scene of some of the fighting during the Second Civil War, for there were many royalist sympathizers in the county, particularly at Colchester to the north. Many of the Presbyterians, Ward among them, felt strongly that the restoration of the King and the Throne were necessary steps in the establishment of peace and order.

From the quiet of Shenfield rectory Ward kept in close touch with affairs in London and the county about him. Events were moving swiftly. On April 28, 1648, the Presbyterians in Parliament, supported by Vane and other leading Independents, resolved that the House would not change the basis of government "by King, Lords, and Commons."[7] By Mall all of South Wales was in active revolt, Scotland

was organizing an army for invasion from the north, and throughout England, particularly in Kent and Essex, the threat of royalist uprisings was definite. The attitude of the Essex clergy toward the question of Presbyterianism and the Solemn League and Covenant was set forth in The Essex Testimony[8] signed by one hundred and thirty ministers. The testimony supported "The Confession of Faith, Directorie of Worship and Humble advice for Church Government presented by the Reverend Assembly of Divines to the Honorable Parliament."[9] This clearly indicates that, so far as the ministers were concerned, there was to be no compromise on the question of the establishment of Presbyterianism. Ward signed this document. From the allegiance he thus publicly proclaimed he never wavered during the remainder of his life. Nor does he again seem to have cherished any hope of compromise.

On May 4th a petition from Essex, said to represent the wishes of thirty thousand of the inhabitants of that county, was presented to Parliament by a procession numbering two thousand horse and foot.[10] It demanded the restoration of the King and the disbanding of the Army. Whether Ward supported this petition is unknown, but certainly the two chief points involved found frequent expression in his next book which appeared on the day following the presentation of the Essex Petition, that is, on May 5th.[11] The pamphlet purports to be "The Humble Petitions . . . of some moderate and Loyall Gentlemen, Yeomen and Freeholders of the Easterne Association."[12] Its form, however, is purely a device on the part of Ward, a device that again enables him to hide his name. There

is no doubt, however, of its authorship. Thomason notes on his copy, "By Ye Cobler of Agauuam: Mr. Ward," and Richard Baxter speaks of Ward as its author in his Holy Commonwealth.[13]

Ward makes six specific points in his pamphlet. 1. There shall be no toleration of religious sects, but a strict enforcement of Presbyterian rule. 2. The King must not be deposed. 3. He lists a series of grievances against Parliament, chief among these its weakness in yielding unduly to the influence of the Army, and in allowing the latter to seize the person of the King. 4. He notes briefly the division of the people into Malignants and Parliamentarians. 5. The widening breach between Scotland and England seems to him a threat of danger, and he urges the suppression of writers who are pouring oil upon the flames that threaten the friendship of the two nations. 6. He speaks vigorously against the free quartering of troops and against the activities of the Army leaders in general.

Against the threat of religious toleration he is particularly vigorous, bringing to bear all the force of his epigrammatic style. "Is the Religion of England, Right Honourable, wherein we, and our Fathers have been so long instructed, now on a sudden become such a riddle? Are the Scriptures grown of late so abstruse? Is Christ so divided? Or is Parliament rather so distempered, that no possible councell can be given, nor taken for reconciling of the differences about Church-government, but by granting such a Toleration as the Sectaries desire? . . . Have we rooted out Bishops, Ceremonies, and Superstitions, to plant Errors, Schismes and Sectaries, in their room?"[14] And it is the Simple Cobbler of old that cries out against

the extremists "Shall we call those tender consciences, which are so audacious as to turcase the revealed, and sealed Standards of our salvation, and conversation, to the mishapen models of their intoxicated phansies?"[15] The inconsistency of Parliament in holding solemn fasts against "errors" and then proposing acts of toleration he brands as "the most daring piece of hypocrisy that ever English Parliament committed."[16] His undying hatred of religious disunity finds expression in the sentence, "Yea, be not your Honours offended, if we protest in the name and feare of God, that if any unlawfull Toleration be granted, we will never give the Parliament of England rest so long as we can move our tongues in our mouths or our pens in our hands, till it be reversed."[17]

In his support of the King, he stresses the unconstitutionality of any act that would remove Charles from the throne. He cannot and does not write in favor of the individual. Concerning the character of Charles Stuart he no longer has any illusions, but he holds the institution of the kingship itself to be the foundation of English government. He especially deplores the vote of Parliament forbidding addresses to and from the King, for he finds no support for such an act in either the law or the gospel.

As a whole, the book is more in the vein of The Simple Cobler than any other of Ward's publications. The "new quodled" words run freely from his pen and carry the same sting as of old as he writes of "many whirl-crown'd and bragg-brand Opinionists", and "the snarled and contorptupticated affairs of State."[18] He closes his book with the phrase, "From the Eastern Association,

April 12, 1648," thus giving us the date of composition.

For a time, Ward's pen was laid aside. Almost coincident with the publication of his Petition, the Presbyterians in Parliament gained control and passed a stringent ordinance against blasphemy and heresy. It was as vicious and unwise a piece of legislation as ever darkened the statute books of a modern nation, but the swift march of events left it unnoticed and unenforced. The Scots were already over the border, Berwick and Carlyle had fallen, and in Wales and Kent the royalist arms were fighting valiantly. Before the end of the month a mutiny in the fleet had placed that arm of the service under the banner of the King. By June Essex itself was the scene of bloodshed. The military action in the county was rapid. The energy and generalship of Fairfax drew the royalist forces behind the walls of Colchester where they were closely invested. After enduring a devastating siege of more than two months the city surrendered. We do not know whether Ward's son-in-law and his family remained in the city during its investure or not; they may have sought refuge at Shenfield on the approach of hostilities.

It is doubtful if Ward's sympathy for the monarchy was strong enough to lead him to support the royal cause. The majority of the Presbyterians, torn between hatred of the Independent Army and their fear of a return of Episcopacy under the King, temporized in the emergency, and remained aloof. It was their failure to support the royalist arms that blasted any chance the uprising may have had. Ward's attack on free quartering suggests, however, that even the quiet hamlet of Shenfield may have felt some of the inconveniences of war.

On October 10, 1648, Ward's youngest son James was incorporated A.B. and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. It would seem that he had contemplated some such step before he left New England, for his testimony, bearing the names of Henry Dunster, President, and Samuel Danforth, Fellow, of Harvard College, was dated December 3, 1646. His choice of Oxford instead of Cambridge, his father's University, seems strange. Oxford, earlier a stronghold of royalist sympathies, had been brought under Parliamentary control by a series of drastic measures. It never was Presbyterian, and at the time of young Ward's entrance reflected the influence of the Independents rather strongly. A little over a year later, on November 14, 1649, to be exact, James Ward was admitted A.M. and created Bachelor of Physics with the degree of B.M. by favor of General Fairfax.[19] It seems hard to escape the conclusion that the son had earlier parted company with his father and joined the supporters of the Army, if not the Army itself. From what little we know of the young man's character he does not seem one who would have been deeply stirred by the religious controversies of the time. Nothing further is found concerning James Ward.

Nothing is known of Ward's activities during the closing months of 1648 when the Second Civil War was drawing to an end with the complete triumph of the Independents. The constitutional rights of King and Parliament alike were swept aside by the resolute hands of Ireton and Cromwell, until only a parody of a representative body sat at Westminister, and a royal head fell under the executioner's axe at Whitehall. Ward must have felt that the forebodings which had

filled the pages of the Religious Retreat had indeed become realities, and that the constitutional rights of Englishmen had vanished.

The death of the King only strengthened Ward's detestation of the revolutionary party. In the spring the Agreement of the People was again being prepared for circulation. As the basis of the proposed new government it was abhorrent to Ward, and as the vehicle of religious toleration it was anathema. On March 8, 1648/9, a pamphlet appeared with the title of The Essex Watchman's Watchword. It bore the signatures of many of the Presbyterian clergymen in Essex, among them Nathaniel Ward. It warns against the dangers of a general toleration of the sects, and urges steadfastness in holding to the cause of Presbyterianism. The author is unknown, and there is no specific reason for believing it is the work of Nathaniel Ward. But it is difficult to think that he did not have a share in its preparation. The style is not unlike his, and his name is the last signature. It was printed on the same press and for the same publisher who issued Ward's Petition to Parliament.

The execution of the King left Parliament as the only body with any vestige of constitutional authority; and the Rump was little more than a mouthpiece for the Army leaders. In no sense did it represent the will of the people at large. In February the Monarchy was formally abolished, and the supreme executive authority vested in a Council of State consisting of forty-one members of the House of Commons. To those, who, like Ward, believed that the only constitutional head of the state was the Crown, any form of government other than the monarchy was illegal and obedience to its mandates unlawful.

A new pamphleteer war immediately started on the subject of the lawfulness of obeying the new government.

From Shenfield Ward engaged in this new controversy, although, because of its essentially political nature, it centered in London. Through a group of friends, probably four in number, he participated in the production of a series of pamphlets. These friends may have been the same who aided in the publication of the Petition to Parliament. The pamphlets were issued, however, by another publisher. In the following chapter a detailed analysis of these pamphlets and their authorship will be made. The series, four in number, appeared between May 26, 1649, and April 25, 1650. The first, known as A Religious Demurrer, seems certainly Ward's; the second, called, A Second Demurrer, is not from his pen; the third, The Grand Case of Conscience, is somewhat in his style, but his connection with it is not clear; the fourth, Discollimitium, is not his, although it is the only one that has previously been attributed to him. The problems presented by these tracts are complicated, and of sufficient importance to warrant separate treatment.

Most of Ward's time was undoubtedly taken up by personal affairs and the work of his parish. The life of any sincere minister during those turbulent times must have been an arduous one. Certainly the small, rural parish of Shenfield could not have been an inspiring environment for a man of Nathaniel Ward's intellectual attainments. But that he performed his duties faithfully and well, we know from a return of the ministers of Essex and other counties, prepared in 1650 by a committee appointed by Cromwell. In this

return he is described as "an able preaching minister."[21] But how trying his parochial work must have been can be judged by the following anecdote from the pen of Giles Firmin. "I have given instance of one in Essex, a County famous for the Gospel, [illegible] late years coming to my Father Ward to baptize his Child, my Father asked him, Why will you have your Child baptized? He answered because others had their children baptized. Then he asked him how many Gods there were? He answered Ten. Then he asked him how many Commandments there were? (supposing his mistake), He answered Two. Which is the first? He answered, Salvation: The Second I know not, but he gave a Second. My Father asked him, if he gave these answers to cross him? The man answered, No truly Mr. Ward, if I knew how to answer you better, I would."[22] Firmin gives the story as illustrating the need of religious instruction, and as an example of the ignorance that sectarianism fostered.

It must have been with particular pleasure that Ward had placed in his hands, sometime in 1650, the manuscript poems of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, his old parishioner in New England. We have earlier noted the close friendship that existed between her father, Thomas Dudley, and Nathaniel Ward. It was especially fitting that Ward should pen the commendatory verses that were to serve as an introduction to the little volume, The Tenth Muse lately Sprung up in America. His influence and sympathy must have had no unimportant part in the nurturing of Anne Bradstreet's literary genius in the early days when she and her husband formed part of the interesting group that were gathered in Ipswich, Massachusetts. It is doubtful

if Ward had any direct share in bringing out the poems,[23] although their publication must have interested him deeply. The poem that he wrote at this time probably represents the last lines that we have from his pen.

"Mercury shew'd Apollo, Bartas, Book,
Minerva this, and wisht him well to look,
And tell uprightly, which did which excell;
He view'd, and view'd, and vow'd he could not tell,
They bid him Hemisphear his mouldy nose,
With's crackt leering-glasses, for it would pose
The best brains he had in's old pudding-pan
Sex weigh'd, which best, the Woman, or the Man?
He peer'd and por'd, and glar'd, and said for wore,
I'm even as wise now, a s I was before:
They both 'gan laugh, and said it was no mar'l
The auth'resse was a right Du Bartas Girle,
Good sooth quoth the old Don, tel ye me so,
I muse whither at length these Girls wil go;
It half revives my chil frost-bitten blood,
To see a woman, once, do ought that's good;
And chode buy Chaucer's Boots, and Homer's Furrs,
Let men look to't, least women weare the Spurs."

These lines, however much they may cause a critical smile, are sincere in the tribute they contain. They show us the gentler side of Ward's humor which even advancing age could not rob of its whimsical charm.

But the book of Ward's life was nearing its finis. Whether

his strength failed as time took its toll we do not know. The circumstances of his death are shrouded in an even deeper obscurity than those of his birth. That he died in the fall of 1652 seems probable, for George Bond, his successor, begins his entries in the parish records in November of that year.[24] Ward did not live to see the Commonwealth fall before the Protectorate, and was spared the task of weighing the glory and the evil of Cromwell's despotic reign. His life ended where it had begun, in the quiet of English hedgerows and the peace of country lanes. The path of his life had carried him across oceans and through strange lands; he had carved his name on the cornerstone of a new and great nation; he had left behind one book that was to survive the centuries. Although he himself may have valued most highly his valiant share in the struggle for the lost cause of Presbyterianism in England, it is American history and American literature that preserves his permanent fame.

Notes to Chapter IX.

1 The American Nathaniel Ward seems to have been most often confused with his nephew of the same name, the son of Rev. Samuel Ward of Ipswich. According to my reading of the records, the facts concerning the younger Nathaniel Ward are as follows: He was born at Ipswich, receiving his early education in that town. At the age of fifteen, he was admitted pensioner at Sydney College, Cambridge, matriculating in 1629; A.B. 1631-2, M.A. 1635, D.D. 1661. He was ordained deacon September 19, 1635, (Venn). He became rector of Hadley, Essex, June 7, 1639, succeeding his cousin John Ward, the son of the American Nathaniel. He seems to have held this place for only a few weeks. On January 8, 1640, he was installed as Rector of Hawkswell, Essex. This place he held until sometime in 1643, (Newcourt, ii:291; 330). On March 10, 1644 he signed the Covenant as minister at Walkern, Hertsfordshire, (East Herts. Arch. Soc. Trans. v:264). His name appears on a petition to the House of Lords from the ministers of that county July 24, 1646, (Lords' Journals viii:445). He held this living on the sequestration of Dr. Gorsuch, and in 1647 had some trouble with his predecessor, (Lords' Journals ix:388-91; 421. Shaw: History of the English Church ii:344). He lost the living July 3, 1648 (Lords' Journals x:358). About 1650 he became rector of Stapleford in Essex, holding this place until he was ejected in 1662, (Col. Soc. Pub. xiii:38n). On June 2, 1648, he petitioned the House of Lords for

the living at Althorpe in Lincolnshire. His request was at first granted, but for some reason he did not receive the living, Thomas Spademan being inducted June 26, 1648, (Lords' Journals x:297, 341, 347). It may be that he withdrew his request because the living at Stapleford was offered him. His death occurred in 1668, (Venn).

Professor G. L. Kittredge (Col. Soc. Pub. xiii:38 n.) identifies the above Ward with the Nathaniel Ward who was minister in Bermuda, 1628-1631, but if Venn's data is correct, he was at Cambridge during this period. For the same reason, he could not have been the Nathaniel Ward who was curate at St. James, Duke's Place, London, in 1626-1628. I am inclined to identify the Ward of Bermuda and St. James with a Nathaniel Ward who was born January 2, 1605, and entered Cambridge, March, 1619, as sizar from King's, receiving the degree of B.A.,1623-24, and that of M.A. in 1627. He was vicar of Stainsdrop, Durham, from 1635 to 1644. He died fighting for the King at the siege of Milburn Castle, Cumberland, December, 1644, (Venn). The dates, at least, fit together very neatly.

Edward Ward of Little Wrathing, Suffolk, the uncle of the American Nathaniel, also had a son, Nathaniel, as is shown by his will proved at Ipswich, March 7, 1620, (Waters: Genealogical Gleanings in England, p. 175).

There was another Nathaniel Ward in America during the residence of the Simple Cobler here. He settled at Hartford where he sold land to Governor Haynes (N.E. Gen. Reg. xvi:167).

He later became one of the founders of Dadley, Mass., in 1685, (Foote Genealogy, p. xvii).

2 Smith, Ecclesiastical History of Essex, p. 158.

3 Ibid., p. 242.

4 Dean, Memoir of Giles Firmin, p. 12.

5 Smith, Ecclesiastical History of Essex, p. 274; see also Dean's Memoir of Firmin.

6 A detailed architectural description of the church can be found in Royall Commission on Historical Monuments, An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex, ii:213.

6 Gardiner, iii:362.

8 The full title is: Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant, as also against the Errors, Heresies andBlasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them: to which is added a Catalogue of Said Errors.

9 Barrett, Sketches of Church Life, p. 261.

10 Gardiner, iii:372.

11 Thomason's date.

12 For full title see bibliography of Ward's works.

13 See note on page 257 ante.

14 Petitions to Parliament, p. 4.

15 Ibid., p. 5.

16 Ibid., p. 5.

17 Ibid., p. 6.

18 Ibid., pp.20; 30.

19 Fastii Cxonienses, ii:110, 146.

20 The/ Essex/ Watchman's Watchword/ to the Inhabitants of the said

County respectively, dwelling/ under their several Charges/ By Way of Apologetical Account,/ of/ The true Grounds of their first Engagement with them in/ The Cause of God, King and Parliament,/ for their Vindication from unjust Aspersions./ Also by way of faithful Premonition of the dangerous evil/ latent in a printed paper, entitled/ The Agreement of the People,/ Intended to be Tended to them for Subscription./ London printed for Ralph Smith at the sign of the/Bible near the Royal Exchange 1649.

Thomason's date is March 8, 1648. The pamphlet provoked answers from John Price and Edward Barber.

21 Dean, p. 116.

22 Firmin's Real Christian, p. 230 (Boston ed.).

23 Rev. John Woodbridge was probably chiefly responsible for the publication of the volume; but it is interesting to note that the book was printed for Stephen Bowtell at the signe of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley. This was the bookseller who issued Ward's Sermon before Parliament.

24 Dean, p. 119.

Chapter X

A RELIGIOUS DEMURRER

Because even the most radical ideas advocated by the Independents of the Army in 1650 have become the conventional dogma of present day English thought, we no longer realize how wholly revolutionary they seemed at the time. It takes imagination to understand how the events of that year would appear to the eyes of a conservative Englishman of the period. Apart from its religious aspects, the situation seemed to many to parallel the fall of the Roman Republic and the rise of Augustus Caesar. The execution of the King, the purging of Parliament by armed force, these were acts not only illegal in the sense that they contravened existing law, they were non-legal in going beyond the scope of all abstract conception of constituted law. In his quiet country parsonage, Ward pondered these thoughts, and his ideas took shape upon paper. Three years before, he had sourded A Religious Retreat, he now entered a Religious Demurrer against the actions of the new government. It took the form of a letter written and sent to some friends in London, and by them given to the press although there is no reason to believe that Ward did not intend its publication. Its full title is: A Religious Demurrer, Concerning Submission to the present Power: Contained in a Letter Written to some Religious Gentlemen, and Reverend Divines in and about the City of London; From some peaceable and Truth-seeking Gentlemen in the Countrey. Requesting as speedy and satisfactory an Answer as they please to Afford. It bears no date and no publisher's name. Thomason's

date on his copy is May 26, 1649. It was apparently published by Thomas Underhill.[1] The tract is signed by A,B,C,D, and has a postscript signed only A,B,C. These three letters probably stand for the three Londoners.

As has been stated in a previous chapter, the Religious Demurrer was the first of a series of related pamphlets. Thomason made no notation as to its author, probably because he was ignorant of its source. But on the last of the four tracts, the Discolliminium, he has written, "Cobler of Aguaume Mr. Ward." I shall show later that this tract was not by Ward. How came Thomason to make this error? The full title of the Discolliminium contains the phrase, "So farre as concerns the first Demurrer and no further." Is it not logical to suppose that Thomason, having by then learned of Ward's authorship of A Religious Demurrer, attributed the Discolliminium to him on the basis of this phrase? Other factors combine to give further support to a belief that Ward wrote A Religious Demurrer. Its title parallels Ward's earlier pamphlet A Religious Retreat, and is a law term with which Ward would be familiar. A comparison with The Petitions to Parliament is even more revealing. On the title page of the Petitions we find: "The Humble Petitions. . . of some moderate and Loyall Gentlemen, Yeomen, and Freeholders of the Eastern Association;" and on the title page of the Demurrer, "A letter... from some peaceable and Truth seeking Gentlemen in the Country." Moreover, the opening phrases of these two pamphlets present striking similarities. In the Petitions we have: ". . .we therefore humbly beseech you to give us leave, in this most perilous conjuncture of

State not onely to present our just fears and desires, but to expostulate with you somewhat closely, yet very respectively, concerning some things."[2] Corresponding to this we find in the Demurrer: "Give us leave, we beseech you, withall meeknesse and reverence, to spread our case before you."[3] Finally, the style of the pamphlet is most convincingly like that of Ward's known publications. To anyone thoroughly familiar with that style, A Religious Demurrer seems to bear his signature on every page. Even a cursory comparison of the following random passages with the style of The Simple Cobler will show the striking similarity that exists throughout the pamphlet.

"We would be as glad as any, if we and our children might have a portion in those glorious times, which vain-glorious men dream of: But if ever God produceth such glorious times out of such ungracious courses, as are now acting, we are resolved, for our parts, to buy no more Bibles of our English translations.

"It's quite beyond the Arcticks of our fore-sight, how true Religion, and a generall Toleration, regular Authority and Lawlesse Liberty, strict Magistracy, and rude Popularchy, in one and the same State, can bring forth anything but mules and monsters, storms and tempests, unsettlednesse and madnesse throughout the Kingdom."[4]

"From our Protestations, Covenants and Oaths: Which having been so strongly and frequently argued by others, we shall say no more of it but this; that, when a Religious Nation have pawned their God, their Christ, their Gospel, their souls, their salvation, and their whole prosperity to do such acts as were then, and still continue, lawfull: We cannot comprehend with the utmost dimensions

of our Understandings, no, not with the purest Chymistry of our Fancies, no, not with the most perspicacious rayes of light we have, either old, or new, how such a Nation should, not only shake off such sacred chains, but presume diametrically and point-blank to counter-act those engagements, till they heare God from heaven protest, vow, and swear, that he would both have them do so, and freely pardon them for it. Which how he should do, is many leagues beyond the worlds end out of our intelligence: It being sworn in our Oath of Allegiance, That no power whatsoever should absolve or deter us from the performing thereof."[5]

Ward in his pamphlet simply and logically presents the doubts that were troubling the minds of many Englishmen. What attitude should they take toward the new government? Where did their allegiance lie? The ideas expressed, as well as their method of presentation, are characteristic of Ward and his opinions.

"We are now sundry waies called to submit to the commands of a new authority, wherewith we and our fore-fathers have not been acquainted, and of whose legality we are not yet sufficiently informed. We have, not a little, laboured with our weak understandings, nor have we given way to the distempers of our wills, so far as we can discern; we have consulted with some, whome we judge moderate and prudent; and yet we finde ourselves left in the dark concerning these two perplexed Questions.

"1. Whether this present Authority, taken up and exercised of late among us, be indeed lawfull and authentick, if thourcughly weighed in the scales of God, or of the State of England?

"2. Whether godly men, who desire to order their steps according to the Word, are bound in Conscience to yeeld obedience to such a Government, as in their most peaceable and inquisitive apprehensions, they judge unlawfull, at least very dubitable?"[6]

In the development of his discussion he raises the question of whether the present Parliament is a true Parliament at all, since its existence depends upon a change made by the Commons without the consent of the Lords or the King, and therefore represents the work of only one third of the constitutional authority. Furthermore, the Parliament that passed the bill was only a fraction of the elected body, the remainder having been forcibly excluded. While he grants that forty members and the Speaker could legally transact business, he questions whether those particular forty could be lawfully considered a quorum since the absent members were not absent of their own free will and desire. The irrational acts of the present body also raise a doubt as to the legality of their proceedings. Under this point he attacks the Act of Toleration.

In discussing the question the lawfullness of yielding obedience to the present government, Ward draws a distinction. There is a certain inherent authority in Conquest. A conquered people, subdued by superior force, may legally give obedience to their conquerers, as Christ paid tribute to Rome. But the Army denied that their authority was derived by right of conquest, insisting on the constitutionality oftheir authority. Ward therefore contends that to give obedience would be to admit the legality of their authority; this he has already challenged.

The pamphlet presents clearly, logically and with moderation the case for the Opposition. Apart from the passages dealing with religious toleration, it is a legal summary of the points at issue of considerable value and interest. Its freedom from partisan abuse and personal vituperation makes it an oasis of reason in the dry and scorching tracts that constitute the political literature of the day.

It seems logical to assume that A Religious Demurrer was composed as an isolated pamphlet, that there was no intention on Ward's part to continue further. Shortly before the appearance of the book, probably between the time of its composition and its publication, a pamphlet was issued called, The Lawfulness of Obeying the Present Government.[7] This was the work of Francis Rous, a clergymen who, like Ward, had studied law before entering the ministry. Rous had been, until 1648, a staunch Presbyterian; he had then thrown his influence on the side of the Independents, later becoming a close friend and advisor of Cromwell in the days of the Protectorate. Rous' pamphlet stirred up a great deal of feeling in Presbyterian circles, partly, perhaps, because of its author's ecclesiastical. Several answers and attacks soon made their appearance,[9] but Rous seems to have answered only the series under discussion.

The postscript to A Religious Demurrer begins with the words, "Since we wrote and sent our former Letter, some of us have seen a Treatise, perswading obedience in lawfull things to Authority though unlawfull." This probably refers to Rous' tract. The style of this postscript is very different from the pamphlet itself, and does not

suggest Ward in any particular. It is signed A.B.C. This circumstance plainly suggests that only one of the group was not a resident of London, since anyone living in the city would certainly have seen Rous' tract. By inference we are again led to Ward as the real author of A Religious Demurrer.

In a general way, many of the arguments in The Lawfulness of Obeying the Present Government were anticipated in A Religious Demurrer, although the latter is largely concerned with showing the unlawfulness of the government itself. It did not squarely meet Rous' contention that regardless of the source from which a government derived its authority, it was lawful and in keeping with the scriptures to obey it. In the nature of things it was almost inevitable that the group responsible for the appearance of A Religious Demurrer should follow it with a more specific answer to Rous. This they did, for a tract shortly appeared with the title, A Second Part of the Religious Demurrer; by another Hand. Or an Answer to a Tract called The Lawfullnesse of Obeying the present Government. By a lover of Truth and Peace. Thomason has noted on his copy, "printed by Tho. Underhill June 6, 1649". He adds, "against Mr. Rouse."

If Ward was the author of the first Demurrer, he was not the author of the second, for the latter was, "by another hand." The truth of this assertion is amply evidenced by the style of the tract which is wholly unlike Ward. The author takes up some of the points made by the first Demurrer, but is largely occupied with the question of submitting to a government admittedly unlawful. "There

are two great questions now in chase and agitation, 1. Whether the present power be just and lawfull? 2. Whether, supposing them unlawfull, they may not lawfully be obeyed?"[10] The discussion that follows is systematic, almost pedestrian, in its use of classification and division. First, Governments are distinguished as "constituta, long settled", or "constituenda, as yet settling;" people are divided into "free" and "bound" in respect to their ability to settle upon what government they will. Obedience is "differenced into active and passive." The result is a pamphlet that has none of Ward's fire or vigor; it is logical and labored, earnest and conscientious, but on the evidence of its style it is improbable that Ward had any hand in its writing. It is probably the work of either "A" or "C".

The next pamphlet in the series was, The Grand Case of Conscience Stated, about Submission to the new and present Power. or An impassionate Answer to a modest Book concerning the lawfullnesse of submitting to the present Government. By one that professeth himself a friend to Presbytery, a lover and embracer of Truth where soever he finds it. This tract also is without date or publisher's name. Thomason notes the date as "June 22, 1649;" and adds, "Religious Demurrer 2d char." Since the pamphlet is obviously from the same press as the two Demurrers, it was published by Thomas Underhill. In treatment the tract is less formal and specific than The Second Demurrer. It takes up certain points made by Rous, and attempts to show their fallacies. It bases its own arguments largely on incidents from Roman History. In style, it suggests the first

Demurrer rather than the second. It is easy to select passages that strongly suggest Ward's style, as for example: "I am not ignorant what pleas there may be from inconvenience in such a doctrine, but according to the light I have, where lawfull or unlawfull are in question, their convenience and inconvenience must beare silence." "It is better to lose a natural life, then a quiet conscience, and a spirituall soul: The greatest advantage will not warrant the least evil." "I do not think that he breaks his Covenant, that doth not preserve the Kings person, when he is dead; but I thinke he is guilty, that did not endeavor to preserve it while he was living."[11] The opening of the discussion is also not unlike the method Ward frequently employed. "Although I love not contention, yet I desire satisfaction: that whilst I live amidst a tumultuous generation, and unquiet times, I may be delivered from a troubled spirit and discalm'd mind; A wounded spirit who can bear? 'Twas willing to have sate down in silence, re-solving to have kept my conscience, as void of offence to others, so free from disturbance in it self, chusing rather quietly to suffer for not doing what was commanded, than knowingly to act what is (at least to me) unlawfull: such Liberty of Conscience I conceive none will deny me. But since that Book came to mine hands, I (although unwillingly) undertook this task, not only out of an earnest desire I had to finde out truth, but for the unusuall modesty of the Tract it self, knowing that the fonlest corn is best winnowed in a mantle cloth; a tempestuous winde blowes away chaffe and corn too."[12]

On the whole, the internal evidence of authorship is in-

conclusive. Ward may be the author, or he may have collaborated in its production, or the author may have been in correspondence with Ward and made use of some of his ideas and written expressions. However, both the author of the Discolliminium, and Rous in Bounds and Bonds, speak in such a way as to suggest that the authors of the two Demurrers and the Grand Case of Conscience were three separate individuals. The probability is that they were.

The concerted attack of these three pamphlets drew a reply from Rous in the form of, The Bounds and Bonds of Publique Obedience. or, A Vindication of our lawfull submission to the present Government, or to a Government supposed unlawfull, but commanding lawfull things. Likewise how such an obedience is consistent with our solerne League and Covenant. In all which a Reply is made to the three Answers of the two Demurrers, and the Author of the Grand Case of Conscience, who professe themselves impassioned Presbyterians. London printed for John Wright at the Kings Head in the Old-Bayley, 1649. Thomason's date on this tract is "August 27". In this reply Rous undertakes to show that the arguments of his opponents, if taken literally and carried to their logical conclusion, become untenable, especially the distinction they draw between active and passive obedience. The keynote of his argument is expediency.

No reply to Bounds and Bonds was made by any of Rous' opponents until the following spring. On April 18,[12] a pamphlet appeared with the following title, Discolliminium - or, A most obedient Reply to a late Book, called, Bounds & Bonds, So farre as concerns the first Demurrer and no Further, or rather A reply to

Bounds only, Leaving Bonds to the Second Demurrer and Grand Cassist. By B: London: Printed in the Yeere, 1650. On his copy of this tract, Thomas has written "Cobler of Aquaume Mr. Ward". This notation has led later writers to attribute this pamphlet without reservation to Nathaniel Ward. The internal evidence, however, seems conclusively against his authorship, unless we can assume that he radically changed his style and method. There are, it is true, similarities of ideas and phrasing, but they are such as to suggest a knowledge of the Simple Cobler and some influence from it rather than common authorship of the two books. The present writer is convinced that it is the work of a younger man, one of the four who signed the first Demurrer, and who took it upon himself to answer Rous' tract because of the failure of Ward to do so. He dates his pamphlet at the close: "From my Chamber Feb. 15, 1649

You had had it long since,
but that I expected, others would
have saved me this labour."

This suggests that he was not the logical person to have made the reply. It is not too much, I think, to infer therefore that he had only a perfunctory part in the publication of the First Demurrer, and nothing whatever to do with the Second Demurrer and The Grand Case of Conscience.

Thomason's error in attributing the pamphlet resulted, as we have already suggested, from a recent knowledge of Ward's authorship of A Religious Demurrer. A summary of the evidence concerning the publication of the four tracts seems to suggest the following hypothesis.

That Nathaniel Ward wrote A Religious Demurrer and sent it, as he had his previous Petitions to Parliament, to some friends in London, who published it over a group signature A,B,C,D; that these Londoners, having seen Rous' first tract, added the postscript before sending it to the press. But the pamphlet, having been written without a knowledge of Rous' tract, was no a direct answer to it; this fact led one of the three, either A or C (since B, the author of the Discolliminium seems to deny authorship of anything but a share in the First Demurrer) prepared the Second Demurrer; The Grand Case of Conscience was then written by either A or C whichever was not the author of the Second Demurrer. Here matters rested until the appearance of Bounds and Bonds. Since this tract first attacked the author of the First Demurrer, its author would be expected to make the first move in reply. For some reason Ward did not do this. It is possible that Rous' tract did not reach him, although we might expect his London friends would see to it that he received a copy. It may therefore be that ill health was the cause of his silence. At any rate after six months had passed, D took it upon himself, on the strength of his participation in the publication of the First Demurrer, to make reply in Ward's place. This he did in the Discolliminium. No other pamphlets are identifiable as the work of any of this group; it is therefore to be inferred that their association ceased, although it is not impossible that they individually continued the pamphleteer warfare.

Notes to Chapter X

1 It corresponds typographically and in format to A second Part of the Religious Demurrer on which Thomason has written, "published by Thos. Underhill."

2 Petitions to Parliament, p. 3.

3 A Religious Demurrer, p. 2.

4 Ibid., p. 7.

5 Ibid., p. 6.

6 Ibid., p. 2.

7 The Lawfulness/ of obeying the/ Present Government/ proved,/ by one that loves all Presbyterian/ lovers of Truth/ and Peace, and is/ of their Communion/ Printed at London for John Wright, at the Kings/ Head in the Old Baily 1649.

8 Francis Rous (1579-1659) was the fourth son of Sir Anthony Rous of Holton St. Dominick, Cornwall. He was graduated from Pembroke College, Oxford B.A. in 1596/7 and from the University of Leyden in 1598/9. He entered the Middle Temple in 1601, but soon retired to Cornwall, devoting himself to theological study. He wrote many theological works. He sat in the two Parliaments of Charles I, and was also in both the Short and the Long Parliaments. Until 1648 Rous was a staunch Presbyterian, but in that year he went over to the Independents, in 1651-2 serving on a committee which framed an abortive scheme for a state church on a Congregational plan. He was close to Cromwell in the latter's councils, being one of those who discussed the kingship with him in 1656. He was

created a Lord of Parliament by Cromwell in 1657. He died at Acton in January, 1658/9, and was buried in Eton College Chapel. (D.N.B.).

9 Typical of these is: An/Enquiry/ after further satisfaction con-/ cerning obeying a change of Go-/vernment beleeved to be unlawfull./ Tendered to the Presbyterian Proposer, by way of/ Reply to his Book Intituled; the Lawfulnesse of/ obeying the present Government./ By a dissenting Brother./ London,/ Printed for G. T. Anno Dom. 1649.

10 A second Demurrer, p. 2.

11 The Grand Case of Conscience, pp. 8, 9, 11.

13 Ibid., p. 1.

14 Thomason's date.

Chapter XI

APOCRYPHA

Nathaniel Ward's practice of always publishing his pamphlets anonymously has resulted in many cases of doubtful authorship. Only one of all his books bears his name on the title page. This is his Sermon Before Parliament, which was published without his knowledge or consent. Only one other, The Simple Cobler, has a pseudonym that is easily or certainly interpreted. The immediate popularity of Ward's masterpiece made the name of the Simple Cobbler one worth borrowing or paraphrasing, and other writers promptly made use of the cobbler figure; for example: The Honest Welsh-Cobler, for her do scorne to call herself the simple Welch-Cobler, although her thinks that her have not so much wit as her Prother Cobler of America, yet her may have as much knavery. By Shikin ap Shone, ap Griffith, ap Gearad ap Shiles, etc. Printed by M. Shinkin Printer to S. Tuffie. This tract appeared March 11, 1647,[1] only a few months after the appearance of The Simple Cobler. Ward's pungent style also caught the fancy of his contemporaries, and the "new quodling" of words was practiced by less skillful and less original pens. There is every reason to believe that, apart from frank imitation, many writers were more or less influenced by the balanced and epigrammatic style of The Simple Cobler.

An analysis of the subjects that Ward treated, in the pamphlets known to be his, shows at once that the range of Ward's writings was comparatively narrow. His first book, The Simple Cobler, in a

sense anticipates all of his latter pamphlets, much as Emerson's Nature outlined his future essays. The curbing of religious radicalism, the centralizing of religious authority through a liberal Presbyterian system, the maintenance of a strong constitutional government based upon the Monarchy, these are the subjects that were closest to Ward's heart, and on which he wrote. Only in the apocryphal works do we find any other subjects treated. This comparative narrowness of range is entirely consistent with Ward's character. In spite of his wide travels and experience, Ward possessed neither a versatile nor cosmopolitan mind. There is always a touch of provincialism in his thinking, he reasoned clearly because he simplified the terms of his proposition. Beyond the point where he could speak with the sureness of authority he never ventured to go. Even in the field of theology he stepped with diffidence. But within the limits of his choice he wrote vigorously with a lawyer's clarity and a scholar's skill. If he utilized humor and satire it was with serious purpose and artistic moderation. There was nothing of the buffoon or the playboy in his method. He was never eccentric for eccentricity's sake. He was never vulgar, and never descended to personalities. There was always something of the literary artist in even his most curious phrases. Like Carlyle's, his style is his servant, never his master. All of these facts must be kept in mind when considering questions of doubtful authorship.

The evidence to be weighed is of three kinds: evidence of contemporary writers, the internal evidence of style and material, and the source of previous attributions. The first pamphlet in point

of time is A Word to Mr. Peters, and Two Words for the Parliament and Kingdom. This tract has already been noted in an earlier chapter. As we have seen, it was written as a reply to Hugh Peter's answer to Ward's A Religious Retreat. The first writer to attribute the pamphlet to Ward seems to have been the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, in his History of Ipswich, Massachusetts.[2] Dean, in his Memoir of Nathaniel Ward,[3] accepts Felt's statement with some expression of doubt, based principally upon the fact that it was not issued by the publisher of Ward's previous works. The publisher, Thomas Underhill, was the publisher of the two Demurrers and the Grand Case of Conscience; this would suggest that the author may have been one of the friends who were later associated with Ward. Felt's reason for attributing the pamphlet to Ward is not known, but it was probably because it appeared an attack against Ward. No contemporary evidence even hints at Ward's authorship; Thomason notes only the date on which the tract was published. In the light of what we know of Ward's own character, the internal evidence of the pamphlet itself is all against his authorship. The tract fairly bristles with complimentary references to Ward and his works. It seems almost inconceivable that Ward could have thus sung his own praises behind a mask of anonymity. Again, it is difficult to believe that Ward would stoop to the personalities with which the pamphlet teems. Could he, for example, have thus twitted his antagonist with his unhappy marital life, Peter's wife at the time being insane? "Paradventure you finde it a sweet life to live separated from your wife (which you have done for some yeares) you would have Parliament and City live so far a sunder as you and your wife do?"[4]

The following passages, taken at random, will show the general tone of the tract and indicate the nature of the references to Ward. "But why do you slight him further, that he will not endure a Charge? Alas! those that know you both can say that he fyears not such a Champion as you are any day in the week, a volly of your Arguments will hardly kill a louse, neither strengthen your side, nor route your Adversary. Had not you stronger Arguments by your side then in your brains, to carry things rather by Power than Reason, you durst never enter the List to encounter with him in a Divinity skirmish; His clear Head would soon expell the darknesse of your foggy and dustie brain."[5] "How can you call him a stranger to his own Principles also? did he hold anything in New England which he doth not in Old? pray tell wherein he is principle-shaken if you can. . . . But if you brand him with retreating, because he re-treated from New-England to Old, I know then who has made a trade of Retreating; such a trade hath brought you in more gains in Old England in one yeer, then you could have gotten in New England in seven."[6] These are hardly the terms or the manner in which we have been accustomed to hear Ward refer to himself. A comparison of the closing passage of A Word to Mr. Peters with that of A Religious Demurrer will show even more sharply the difference in dignity and taste that separates the two pamphlets.[7] In view of the fact that there is not an iota of postive evidence to support the contention that Ward wrote the pamphlet, and on the other hand very strong internal evidence against his authorship, it seems safe to conclude that he had no direct part in its production.

On May 4, 1648,[8] the day before the appearance of Ward's Petitions to Parliament, a tract came out entitled: The Pulpit Incendiary, or the divinity and Devotion of Mr. Calamy, Mr. Case, Mr. Cauton, Mr. Cranford and other Sion-Colledge Preachers in their Morning Exercises with keen and angry Application thereof unto the Parliament and Army. Printed by C. S. in the year 1648. Felt in his Ecclesiastical History of New England[9] attributes this pamphlet to Ward, but gives no authority for so doing. The pamphlet is an attack on a group of Presbyterian clergymen and charges them with inflaming the people against both Parliament and Army. Neither style or material suggest Ward in any way. Moreover, we have contemporary evidence that the tract is not his. It was answered by a pamphlet, published May 13th,[10] called: The Pulpit Incendiary Anatomized or A Vindication of Sion College and the Morning Exercises from those foul and false Aspersions lately cast upon them by a Pamphlet commonly known to be the work of Mr. Price a Shopkeeper in the Exchange, etc. London 1648. Here we learn that The Pulpit Incendiary is the work of a Mr. Price. If we turn to the pamphlet, Clerico-Classicum, or the Clerici-allarum to a third war etc. by John Price, Citizen of London. London, printed by M. S. for H. Cripps in Popes-head allee 1648,[11] we find style and subject matter so closely resembling The Pulpit Incendiary that there can be no doubt of John Price's authorship of both pamphlets. There remains no reason for believing that Nathaniel Ward had the remotest connection with The Pulpit Incendiary.

On November 9, 1648,[12] a pamphlet was published that has long been accepted as Ward's work, and while the evidence in favor of

his authorship cannot be disregarded, none of it is direct, and it can all be logically explained on other grounds than Ward's authorship of the tract. The internal evidence is predominately against his authorship. The pamphlet bears the title: Mercurius Anti-mechanicus, or the Simple Coblers Boy, With his lap-full of Caveats (or Take heeds) Documents, Advertisements and Praemonitions to all his honest fellow tradesmen-Preachers but more especially a dozen of them, in or about the city of London. . . By Theodore de la Guarden. London Printed for John Walker, at the sign of the Starre in Popes-head alley. 1648. It is a satirical attack on the lay preachers of the Independents, "tradesmen Preachers" as the author calls them. With coarse sarcasm, replete with forced puns and witticisms, he attacks in succession The Confectioner, The Smith, The Shoemaker, The Taylor, The Sadler, The Porter, The Boxmaker, The SoapBoiler, The Glover, The Miller, The Chicken Man, and The Button Maker. It was a subject that Ward might well have written on, although there is no evidence in his other works that this particular phase of sectarian activity particularly aroused his anger. The subject had been handled many times before.[13] Edwards, in his Gangrenae, bitterly attacked these self-styled preachers of no education or theological training who represented the more radical elements in the Independent movement. Among these were many fanatics who directed their appeal to the baser desires and prejudices of the even more ignorant masses of urban and rural England.

The earliest authority to attribute the pamphlet to Nathaniel Ward is an article in The Monthly Anthology for May, 1809,[14] by Joseph G. Cogswell. John Ward Dean, while preparing his own Memoir

of Ward in 1866, wrote to Dr. Cogswell asking his authority for believing Ward to be the author of this tract, but Dr. Cogswell was unable to recall his authority.[15] Concerning the question of authorship, Dean Himself says: "Some of our literary acquaintances, whose critical sagacity we respect, have formed from internal evidence the opinion that this work is not the production of Mr. Ward, and one of them is firmly convinced that it was not written by him. There is really some doubt on the subject. The earliest authority that we have met with in support of his being the author, is the article printed in the Monthly Anthology. But the writer of that article, Joseph G. Cogswell, LL.D., does not now remember his authority, which is not surprising, considering that the article was written nearly sixty years ago. A careful examination of the book inclines us to the opinion that Dr. Cogswell's statement is correct, and that the style and sentiments are those of Mr. Ward. When we first read the book, however, though we had never heard the authorship of the book questioned, the style of some passages struck us as being unlike his, and serious doubts arose as to his being the author."[15]

The final decision would seem to rest upon a careful consideration of the tract itself. The affirmative evidence is found in the use of the pseudonym, Theodore de la Guarden, which is similar to, but not identical with, that used by Ward in The Simple Cobler. There is some likeness of style in certain passages where the author puns something after the manner of Ward, and where use is made of a few word formations such as super-intend and immarcessible; but these are few in proportion. In the text there are two specific references

to the Simple Cobler: "Let him repaire to the Simple Cobler, he should put his wits in repaire." "I will only allude unto a passage of mine ancestor the Simple Cobler Senior comparing an Head with a Button."[16] The tract opens with a long Dedication: "To his cunning and much more honest parent the Simple Cobler." This is signed, "Theodore de la Guarden, or Sim. Cob. Junior." In this he says, "Father Name-sake, my bigger and better selfe. I pray be not angry that I look so like a Pilgrim, for I am besmeared with long absence, having not seen you this four square yeare and free Quarters." A little later he writes, "The truth is, I have been so much habituated and halfe-natured into these Latins and Greeks, ere I was aware, that I neither can expell them nor spell my own mother tongue, after my old fashion."

All this may be a device used by Ward himself to capitalize the popularity of his earlier book, but such an act seems wholly foreign to his nature. So far as we know he never sought to take advantage of his own reputation. His lack of self assertion has often been noted. It seems strange that he should resort suddenly to the device of self imitation. The most logical explanation, especially when the negative evidence is considered, is to believe that the Mercurius Anti-mechanicus is the work of an admirer of Ward who took advantage of the popularity of his book to pose as a follower.

One thing that at once strikes the reader of the pamphlet is the constant use of Greek. We have already mentioned that only one line of Greek is to be found in The Simple Cobler, and that is a

line quoted from Homer. In all the other tracts by Ward not a single Greek word or phrase is to be found. The author of the Mercurius Anti-mechanicus, on the other hand, incorporates Greek words and phrases into his sentences as freely as he does Latin. As we know, Greek was not a compulsory study at Emmanuel College until Ward's last year there, and we have already suggested that he probably knew little Greek. Hence it is much easier to account for the absence of Greek in Ward's recognized work than to explain its copious use here if the tract is to be considered Ward's. In all of the pamphlets known to be Ward's, there is constant reference to and quotation from the Bible; not once in the Mercurius Anti-mechanicus does the author refer to the Bible even by paraphrase. These two dissimilarities, because of the difficulty in finding a natural explanation of them, must weigh heavily against a belief in Ward's authorship of the tract.

There is a certain element of humour in bringing up Ward's poetic genius and style as evidence in a case of authorship; even so, it must be considered for what it is worth. Although Ward used verse freely in The Simple Cobler, he never seems to have employed it again. The quality of it has been passed over with charitable brevity in these pages. But a glance at any specimen in The Simple Cobler will show that beyond the five stress couplet and a simple quatrain Ward never ventured. His poetry is simple, pedestrian, and conventional. The author of the Mercurius Anti-mechanicus also breaks frequently and irrepressibly into song, but does the following bit of doggerel, which is a fair sample, suggest Ward's muse?

Passion and Pride
Can't long abide
Though they grow strong and stronnere
They are (God knowes)
Unto our woes
Most mischievous Prolonners
Our selves we heat
Into a heat
With most uncivill Warres;
Humility
And meeknesse be
Our best Extinguishers;
Patience well drenches
Calmes, gaels and quenches
Publike and home-bred fires,
As water tames
The fiercest flames
And lulls asleep the irons ires
To pray ever
Lets endeavour
For King, Kingdom, Senate, City
In her Fever
Let's not leave her
But pump hard tears of pity,
Yet our teares can do no good,
Without Christ's (Gods-wrath-punishing) blood.[17]

Ward's muse was not, I grant, of high lineage, but I doubt if she could have stooped as low as this; there was always at least a simple fitness in Ward's poetry that made it seem not out of place in the setting he gave it.

The prose in the tract as a whole lacks the firm texture of Ward's writings. It is inconsequential, rambling, and at times verges on coarseness. There is an excessive use of punning for its own sake; for example, we find in the section dealing with the Confectioner: "He might make it Come-fitter, to continue a Cor-fit-maker for the body, then he Comfort-maker for the Soule. He thinkes he would be more able to conserve Barberries for Women, then to preserve Men from Barbarisme: and more skilld by far to candy Angelica, then to preach Candida Evangelica. But -- well, He may be a sweet man for ought I know, and one to be a Vis-chamber of some but Sugar-bullets."[18] The method here may be Ward's but the execution does not seem his. To show how completely different in tone and effect the whole tract is from anything Ward write, the following passage may be studied as typical of the whole: "You Cock-chicks and Hen chicks that be of his brood, come hither, Bid, bid, Bid. I bid you beware of all bito-snowting. I must take heed there is no one among you receiving, which butcher terms sdle and Powltry Tenets, as this one, that I have seen in Print, and which one or more of that douzen mentioned do hold, namely, that dultery is no sinne, and that any womans husband is dead while he sleeps, and she may consequently live to another man the while: and y this Perswasive Dogma, a Cock may be egg'd on to treed a freen

hen, if his own be unchickenable; such Gubbins and Owl-garbage if ye shall be stufft and cram'd withall it will make you defile your Coopes and Pens, bewrine your food-holes, slipper-poodle your Crocues, zuggle and chidder your Gizzards, you shall turne up your heeles; and your soules will sink like farthing Candles, and go out in a snuffe, and all the world will say that you died of the Pippe." [11] On reflection, it would seem that what we have here is an imitation of Ward's style and not a specimen of that style itself. As in all imitations, we find here an exaggeration of the individualities that marked the original. Ward's effective use of the epithet is carried beyond the limit of artistic use, his ability to gain force by a striking word becomes in the hands of his imitator the mere piling up of uncouth phrases. The result has none of the subtlety and humour that gives The Simple Cobler its charm.

As to the identity of the real author we have not the slightest hint. The title might suggest some connection with the periodical writers of the time, for several of the weekly news pamphlets used the word Mercurius in their headings. This hypothesis finds some slight support in a pamphlet published the previous spring. [12] Its title is Mercurius Anti-Mercurius, Communicating all Humours, Conditions, Forgeries and Lyes of Lyddes-eared News-mongers. It is a bitter satire against all news letters, but is particularly directed against two cavalier papers, Mercurius Pragmaticus and Mercurius Elencticus, and two Parliamentarian papers, The Perfect Diurnall Writer, and The Moderate Intelligencer. That the author had read The Simple

Cobler and had been impressed by it is proved by the freedom with which he borrows phrases and words from that work. "Secondly, the Moderate Intelligencer is the epitome of nothing, the gizard of a trifle." "There are many other silly fellows of this profession who are not worth the castigating distinctly they are all . . . fire-brands of contention, the chafendishes of hell, (or as the Am. Cobler speaks of fashion-loving women) the gyblets of vanity, the petti-toes of infirmity; fitter to be kickt, if they were of kickable substance, then either honoured or humoured." In many respects the style of this pamphlet[21] is as close to that of Ward as the Mercurius Anti-Mechanicus, although its expressions often pass the bounds of decency. The thought that the author of the Mercurius Anti-Mercurius and the Mercurius Anti-Mechanicus are one and the same is irresistible, yet there is nothing but the similarity in title and style to support it. Ward certainly had nothing to do with Anti-Mercurius.

The circumstances of the appearance of the tract called Discolliminium have already been given. The authority for attributing it to Ward is Thomason's notation on his own copy. If this notation is taken at its face value, it would indicate that Ward write both the Religious Demurrer and the Discolliminium. The internal evidence in A Religious Demurrer supports the theory of Ward's authorship of that pamphlet, and, as has been suggested, it may have been a later knowledge that Ward did write the first tract that led Thomason to ascribe the Discolliminium to him. We shall now consider the internal evidence in the latter tract that would tend to support Thomason's endorsement, and also that which is against it.

The pamphlet has considerable to say against the granting of religious toleration, and the attitude taken is almost identical with that of Ward in The Simple Cobler. Moreover, it is in the passages touching on this subject that the style most resembles Ward's. "Concerning this Toleration which is my greatest quarrell, I shall presume to say: That I never had wit enough to understand any reason why a State may not lawfully tolerate practicall sinnes against Gods Commandments, as notinall errours against Gods Truths. I am not ignorant, what is usually declaimed about it, but it takes not with my weake braines."[22] In another passage occurs the sentence, "It was the saying of a great Statesman, that Toleration of Religion breeds Sedition and Atheisme in a Commonwealth."[23] This suggests Ward's reference to Frederick, Duke of Saxony, in The Simple Cobler.[24] What toleration would mean to the religion of England the writer makes clear by relating a story that has come to his attention. The sentiment might be Ward's, although the anecdote method is not one he usually employed. "I heard an odde story within these few daies, so suitable to this subject, that I can hardly conceale it: One Mother Huggin (a Country-woman) longing for some good cheere, and wanting money for the market; as I doe many a time, got all the goose-eggs, hen-eggs, and duck-eggs she could, and laid them under her Sow, hoping she would hatch store and variety of Collops and Eggs; but when she looked for her brood, she found nothing but a messe of nasty pamm: Such another dish will the Religion of England prove under a generall Toleration"[25] Other passages that are very close to Ward in sentiment and style are: "I believe that a

mixt frame of Government well-temper'd and proportion'd, must support this State; that a single forme will soon lay it in the dust. . . .

"I believe, if the intended Toleration be admitted, that neither the purity of Religion, or the power of Godlinesse, can or will, ever thrive more in this Nation.

"I believe, that since the Late Vindication published by the Ministers of London, there is no essentiall cause of difference left, between the Presbyterians and Independants of our Churches."[26]

The selections so far quoted would seem to indicate Ward's authorship rather clearly. If we consider the pamphlet as a whole the impression is not so strongly felt. A Religious Demurrer seems unquestionably the work of a minister. The Discolliminium, on the other hand, suggests a lay pen; and in one passage the author writes, "Dar'd I meddle out of my proper sphere, and were I sure Ministers would not be offended with me, I should be bold to aske them this Question, Why they stick so stifly at the Covenant, and why they shye so strangely at this new Ingaggment? One reason may be, because we Ministers of the Law swollow it so roundly, like eggs and Muskadine; therefore you Ministers of the Gospel think you ought not."[27] Ward, although trained for the law, never referred to himself as a lawyer, never posed as one. In his writings he is always the divine.

The figures of speech in the pamphlet overwhelmingly belong to a hunting, horse-loving gentleman. The passages referring to his horse are so numerous that hardly a page is without one. A few chosen at random will serve to show the tone they impart to the whole.

"Now I go a sunambuling, I wish I may go steady lest I stumble, I foresee my journey will be hard and long, I must travail all kinds of paths and paces, I have no help but to send my man into the Country, to buy me my neighbour Mobsons Mare, she ambles with one leg, trots with another, gallops with a 3d, and stumbles with a 4th, all day long without switch or spur."[28]

"One of my Men being well vampied in his Crowne with Ale, gets upon Hob, my blind Mil-horse, rides into one of my Marshes, spurres on amain; Hob runnes through a great Ditch, then through another; at length into a deep Salt-pit; down comes Hob, down comes my Man over head and eares: And yet I dare say, both Hob and my man follow'd Providence, as hard as they could drive, without which nothing comes to passe; when I ask'd the Knave how he came into that plight; he answered me, by a Providence."[29]

"One of my Godfathers promiseth to give me one of his gallant Horses, for the great Saddle, when he dies he gives me a leane lame spittle Mare, so old that a man would have almost thought she had been the very Mare that came out of Noahs Ark, and all in pursuance of his promise. I am glad Godfathers are cashiered for his sake."[30]

If the author of this tract was a minister, he certainly sought to give the impression that he was not. There are no scriptural references in the pamphlet, although the author does say in one place, "For successes, I thought to have spoken somewhat largely out of the Scripture and Humane Stories, but I feare I shall make too long a taske. I will therefore say no more but this;

If Successes must carry it, next to the Devill, Captain Hynds shall goe for my money, but I would not have him come for it till I can better spare it."[31] Even this passage cannot be called exactly clerical in flavor. If we are to accept the idea that the Discolliminium is by the same hand as A Religious Demurrer, we are faced with an alternative; either they are the work of a layman who pretended to be a minister in A Religious Demurrer, or they are the work of a minister who pretended to be a layman in Discolliminium. If Ward is the man concerned, the second alternative is the correct one. Yet there is no obvious reason why Ward should make such a pretension in answering Bounds and Bonds. Such a device would seem rather to prejudice his case than aid it, since it would impeach the sincerity of his answer. It is more logical to assume that the pamphlets are the work of different men.

There are certain aspects of the Discolliminium that tend further to weaken a belief in Ward's authorship of it. In one passage the author quotes Italian at some length;[32] there is no evidence that Ward knew this language, certainly he never used it in any other book. French phrases also frequently occur in the Discolliminium. There is only the faintest suggestion in The Simple Cobler that Ward was familiar with French.[33] Moreover there are many touches that suggest London residence. The author mentions the elaborate funeral of Colonel Rainsborough in a way that suggests he was an eye witness of the event.[34] Rainsborough's death occurred on October 29, 1648. Unless Ward was on a visit to London at the time he would have been at Shenfield on this date. The

pamphlet is dated "From my Chamber", and in another place he tells us he is a gentleman of the Innes of Court. Incidentally, he nowhere specifically states that he is the author of the Religious Demurrer, but stresses its plurality of authorship. Rous, in Bounds and Bonds, said, in speaking of the authors of the three pamphlets he was answering, that they "professe themselves impassioned Presbyterians." The author of Discolliminium retorts, "There is not that passage to be found in any of the three Tracts. Some, at least one of us, is suspected to be too Independent."[35] He likewise says that distance and weather have kept the writers of A Religious Demurrer from meeting to make a common answer.[36]

Toward the end of the book the author gives a humorous description of himself. Burlesque and whimsical as it is, its evidence is not without significance, and must be considered.

"I come in the last place to that which pleaseth me: This Author of Bounds and Bonds doth me the Honour here and there, to call me Gentleman: I doe assure him, if these devouring Assessments hold but to the end of the yeere, One Thousand, Six hundred, Fourty and Ten, I shall be gentle in all conscience.

"It may be both he and some others, would willingly be satisfied, what manner of Gentleman I am, I care not therefore greatly, If I give him and my good Friends my Character.

"For my naturalls, I am a proper man, Foure foot, twelve inches and a halfe high.

"My Complexion, a Sable Sanguine, with a few Gule drops about my Nose.

"My Beard, if ever it comes, is like to be of an Haire-colour; and certainly it would not be so long a comming, if it knew how welcome it should be.

"The constitution of my body was a clear transparent Marmulate, made up of the conserves of Carnations, Pageant, Gilly-flowers, Sweetwilliams, and other such Aromatique Flowers, much Panado'd into the shape of a strait Gentleman, with the powder of Corall and Christall clarify'd in the Spirits of Diamonds, till these derne, dreary, direfull dayes condunghill'd and uglified me into a darke dense lumpe, compounded of Night-ravens gizards, Satyres, Splens, Polcatts Lites, and Hedge-hoggs Livers, Tortoises Garbages, forced together with the galls of Wizards.

"My spirits are now the vapurs of sinke-holes, Hobgoblin sizles, and Harpyes midnight Belches; and hence it is that my harmonious Pulse beats nothing but melodious Discords, to the tune of the Crosse and Harpe.

"My mind a Charnell-house of the rotten bones of dead Ziims, Jims, Ohims, and Necromancers.

"My Recreations yawning, screaking, and fighting, surmising, misgiving, selfe-eves-dropping, Metamorphosing and Vizard-making, and by these pastimes I keepe my selfe as comfortable as these Hellcyon times will allow. When none of these will refresh me, then I like a Pipe of Salus Populi to quicken and sweeten my musty spirits: But here's my sorrow, that my bare purse will reach no higher then to Democraticall Virginia, which many times tastes like some Levellers old leathern linings, cut and dry'd over the Pan of a Close-stoole,

that I am little the better for my costly perfume; and so you would say, if you knew how my wife scolds at me for it. My dear Moll!

"For my Morals, I am or should be an honest man; I confesse I could never yet thinke myselfe halfe an honest man, till of late, observing the manners of men, in these dayes, I begin to take up a very reverend opinion of myselfe, and hope that I am the honestest man in all England, some Millions excepted.

"I am also a peaceable man, all but my tongue, and that was spoil'd when I was an infant, they cut it and handled it so carelessly, that one end of it hath hung loose in my mouth ever since I was a child.

"Being once in my life in foreigne parts, I was admitted to some great Councels, where I observ'd a man of marke, to speak freely and frequently to all occasions; being afterwards acquainted with him, I asked him what he meant to prejudice himself with so much speech. He answered me, Truly Sir, the very reason of it is this, I cannot hold my tongue for my life; I was never after offended with that man. Life is precious; it is pity any honest man should lose his life for want of a game at Twattle.

"I am so peaceable, that I seriously desire we may leave writing and counter-writing, and spend our time and strength in praying and peace-making, which I hope I shall doe, God assisting me.

"For my Civills, some say I am a Gentleman, some say an Esquire, but I have not money enough to beleeve that, And I feare

never shall: If I be an Esquire, I will sell my Esquireship to any honest man for a good Peaople-ship, and my newest plush Jacket, for a good blew or leathern apron, and desire my friends henceforth never to say of me, How do your Worship? but How doth your Peopleship?

"I am a Gentleman of the Innes of Court.

"I was called to the Barre six yeares agone, and live in continuall fear to be called to it againe, for talking thus liberally; but it is Bounds and Bonds fault, he will not let me alone.

"I have born Armes from my mouldy antient Ancestors, so rich, that they now grow too heavy for my over-tax'd leggs; I am thinking therefore to purchase new, more portable and more suitable to the times; I can devise none fitter then Weather-cocks and a Turnestile, my crest an empty purse, my Parol or Motto.

Pour la cause soit qu'el soit.

For the cause be it black pudding or white.

"My habit is somwhat fynish as other Gentlemen are, I am thinking to change that also. It may be some of you knew my Countryman Cuthbert of Crampton, a short round fellow, that lived upon the revenues of his Tabor and Pipe, every Twelfetide he would put on a suit of Clothes with four Cod-peeces, one before, another behind, and one of each side, and a red high-crown'd Cap on his head, with a mans face over each eare, and a Fab or weather-cock on the top of it; he would play so actively, and turne so nimbly that he could not see which was his 'fore, which was his after, which was his East, or which his West. If you meet a Gentleman thus accoutred, I pray let me passe peaceably, I meane no body any harme, whatsoever I say.

"If you will not let me be quiet, when I am grown thus conformable, a le monde, a le temps a l'ame de l'Armee, I will even goe home to my owne Countrey, and to my owne House, after Easter Terme, and lie downe upon a Couch I have, that Martin Luther made for a faint-hearted friend of his, in such a time as this.

"Mitte mundum vadere sicut Vult, nam vult Vadere sicut vult.

"Let the Cocks-comb World wag which way it will.

"'Twas e're a Bedlam thing, and will be still.

"There will I lie patiently and silently; not a word more, onely I'le pray earnestly that our new Naucleri may have as much wisdome as I want, and I will warrant them they shall have enough."[37]

The task here is the difficult one of determining how much truth lies hidden under this fantastic description. It seems almost certain that it contains a skeleton of fact, for the passage would be utterly pointless to contemporaries if it did not. Its only purpose must have been to pique the curiosity of the reader to discover the identity of the writer under his disguise. The detail here overwhelmingly suggests a Londoner. The "devouring Assesments" unquestionably refers to the levies made on the citizens of London for the support of the army that was occupying the city. These assessments were particularly resented, and the gibe would be natural enough if the writer lived in the city, but not so natural or so likely if the writer lived, as Ward did, some twenty miles away. The author says he is a "Gentleman of the Innes of Court", and although we know Ward had once lived at Lincoln's Inn, his residence

was more than thirty years in the past. Moreover, the writer says, "I was called to the Barre six yeares agone." Would Ward so specifically falsify the time? Many have played the game the writer is here playing, but one of the rules is to tell the truth however equivocally, to deal in exaggeration and half-truths, but not with direct falsehood. These passages when taken with the reference previously quoted, which could not be considered as equivocal, lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the writer is a practicing lawyer living in chambers at London.

The comedy play concerning the Arms born "from my mouldy antient Ancestors", would be cheap comedy indeed coming from Ward, whose family was probably not entitled to Arms.[38] It has a snobbish touch that does not square with his well attested self respect. Even the phrase, "I will sell my Esquireship to any honest man for a good Peopleship," does not sound like Ward even as a joke.

The result of our analysis is the impression that the pamphlet cannot possibly be by Ward. Not only do the detailed facts sketched above lead to this conclusion, but the broader aspects of tract support it consistently. The serious purpose of the tract is almost lost under the mass of irrelevant buffoonery and coarse jesting, and Ward regarded with the utmost seriousness his labours on behalf of Presbyterianism and church unity. Examination shows clearly that the closest similarity to Ward is in sentiment and ideas, not in their method of expression. This would be exactly the case if we are dealing with the work of a younger man whose ideas have been shaped and influenced by an older and more mature mind. It is significant that the style most nearly

approaches Ward's when the similarity of thought is closest. It is a well conned lesson that is being repeated. The structure of the tract suggests the irresponsible exuberance of youth rather than the workmanship of three score years and ten, for it must be remembered that if this pamphlet is Ward's it is the last known production of his pen, and was written within two years of his death. It is much easier, and more natural, to see behind the burlesque description of the author's "Civills" a young country gentleman, the heir of some old country family, who has studied law and is still residing in the Innes of Court, whose ideas have been colored by his association with a group of older men. He would be a typical figure, for the liberal wing of the Presbyterian party was made up of just such men. The younger generation of Puritan Gentlemen were by inheritance and training antagonistic to Episcopacy and the Stuarts, but they were by circumstance and experience equally opposed to the threatened overthrow of the established order by the Independents. Such I believe to have been the author of the Discolliminium, for it is difficult to picture Nathaniel Ward in that role.

Two other pamphlets call for at least a brief comment. These are: The Jovial Tinker of England. willing to Hammer the Covenant and Scots Commissioners into English and to mend the breaches, and stop the holes of the Crowne of England, (miserably torne and bruised, both within and without) with the best Mettle he can get. etc. by Borialis Guard. London, printed for John Hickman,[39], and, an Answer to a Declaration of the Commissioners of the General Assembly etc. by Borialis Guard.[40] The authority for

attributing these two tracts to Ward is W. Carew Hazlitt, who, in his Hand-Book to Early English Literature, London 1867,[41] gives Ward as the author of The Jovial Tinker, with a question mark to show that there is some doubt on the subject. He does not mention the second tract, but they are both obviously by the same hand. On Hazlitt's authority the two tracts are given as Ward's in the Harvard College Catalogue. It seems probably that Hazlitt attributed The Jovial Tinker to Ward on the strength of the similarity in pseudonym and title to The Simple Cobler. There is no other apparent reason for thinking the pamphlets are the work of Nathaniel Ward. Both deal ostensibly with the interpretation of the Covenant, although The Jovial Tinker is more concerned with the Scottish support of the King, the control of the militia, and the monarch's right to veto the acts of Parliament. The Answer to a Declaration is a specific reply to a tract called, A Declaration of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly to the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland concerning present dangers and duties relating to the Covenant and Religion. printed by Evan Tyler, Edinburgh.[42]

The style of the two pamphlets bears no particular resemblance to that of Nathaniel Ward, and the subject matter seems foreign to his interests. A greater degree of antagonism to the King is expressed than is found in any of the works of Ward, who always showed a firm,if qualified, loyalty to the Crown. Apart from the rather striking title page of The Jovial Tinker, there is nothing in any way remarkable about either pamphlet. Neither shows any of Ward's well-known mannerisms or even his clarity of thought.

The pseudonym and the su bject matter suggest association with the northern part of England. The name "Guard" might indicate the name Ward, but that would not necessarily mean Nathaniel Ward. The similarity between the title of The Jovial Tinker and The Simple Cobler would seem to be merely another case of imitation, especially since it is the only thing about the pamphlet in any way suggesting Ward's manner. The publisher, John Hickman, was not associated with the printing of any of Ward's known works, and Thomason is silent on the subject of authorship. In the absence of any positive evidence, it s eems hardly probably that Nathaniel Ward had any connection with these pamphlets.

It is significant, although not surprising in view of the great popularity of The Simple Cobler, that so many pamphlets have been wrongly attributed to Ward. It speaks eloquently of his influence upon his contemporaries. His striking style caught the fancy of the time and induced imitation; his aloofness in hiding constantly behind pseudonym or anonymity favored the attributing to him of work not his own. One cannot, perhaps, voice an absolute certainty concerning the authorship of those apocryphal tracts where the evidence is largely internal, but the conclusions reached above appear sound. We seem justified, then, in denying Ward's authorship of A Word to Mr. Peters, The Pulpit Incendiary, Mercurius Anti-Mechanicus, Discolliminium, The Jovial Tinker, and An Answer to a Declaration.

Notes to Chapter XI

1 Thomason's date.

2 Felt's History of Ipswich, p. 218; N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg. v:286; Felt's Ecc. Hist. of N. E., 1:599.

3 Dean, pp. 101-102.

4 A Word to Mr. Peters, p. 18.

5 Ibid., p. 7.

6 Ibid., p. 28-29.

7 "For the Army I hope I shall lye safe behind a treble Rampart. 1) Their piety, which will excuse mee for speaking my Conscience. 2) Their valour, Fortes non sunt vindices. 3) Their own freedome to speake and doe what they judge ought to be spoken and done.

"For others, I have reserved one old Roman sentence more to intrench myself in.

"Sic longo intervello mea sententia ab omnibus laudetur, quid refert, si bodie a paucis vituperetur?" (A Religious Demurrer).

"Thus I have in plainness and impartiality survayed your book, which is compounded of Falsehood, and Flattery, Slander, and Treason, fitter for the Common Hangman, then a Common lyer; at best fitter for the Clost-stool then the open Stall." (A Word to Mr. Peters.)

8 Thomason's date.

9 Felt's Ecc. Hist. of N.E., 1:599.

10 Thomason's date.

11 Price also published an answer to The Essex Watchmans Watchword.

12 Thomason's date.

13 See reference to early Cobbler tracts in Chapter VII.

14 Monthly Anthology 1809, p. 341.

15 Dean, p. 106.

16 Simple Cobler, p. 70: I counsell him to get his head set on faster then our New-England Teylors use to set on Buttons.

17 Mercurius Anti-Mechanicus, p. 11.

18 Ibid., p. 2.

19 Ibid., p. 42.

20 Thomason's date is April 4, 1648.

21 Two later numbers of Mercurius Anti-Mercurius have come to my attention. These contain no direct reference to Ward or his works.

22 Discolliminium, p. 29.

23 Ibid., p. 21.

24 Simple Cobler, p. 8. See also p. 21.

25 Discolliminium, p. 31.

26 Ibid., p. 53.

27 Ibid., p. 40.

28 Ibid., p. 5.

29 Ibid., p. 19.

30 Ibid., p. 44.

31 Ibid., p. 21.

32 "It is a Christian saying of a Grave Italian Senator, Bisogna accomodar la ragione di Stato, alla Religione, & non la Religione all ragione di Stato." (Discolliminium, p. 17).

33 Simple Cobler, pp. 9, 28.

34 Discolliminium, p. 2.

35 Ibid., p. 2.

36 Ibid., p. 1.

37 Ibid., pp. 45-49.

38 Dean, p. 123.

39 Thomason's date is Jan. 31, 1647. The full title is: The Jovial Tinker of England: Willing to Hammer the Covenant and Scots Commissioners into English. And to mend the breaches, and stop the holes of the Crowne of England, (miserabley torne and bruised, both within and without) with the best mettle he can get. And at a very reasonable Rate. Provided, He b e not compelled to take the Scots Sense upon the Covenant. He will rather walk about the Countries, & cry: Have you any work for a Joviall Tinker. By Borialis Guard. London, Printed for John Hickman, 1648.

40 Thomason's date is March 27, 1648. The full title is: "An Answer to a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly, To the whole Kirke and Kingdome of Scotland. Concerning present dangers, and duties relating to the Covenant and Religion By Borialis Guard.

41 Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain. W. Carew Hazlitt, London 1867, p. 642.

42 Thomason's date is March 1, 1648.

Chapter XII

THE NATHANIEL WARD THEY KNEW

Although no picture of Nathaniel Ward has preserved for us the appearance of the man as his contemporaries knew him, few men of the period have left a sharper impression of their personality. It is true that the figure of the Simple Cobbler has often overshadowed that of the real man, just as the individuality of an actor is sometimes lost in his interpretation of a great role. The real Nathaniel Ward is seldom allowed even to peer from behind the rather grim mask of Puritanical intolerance that an unsympathetic posterity has painted for him. He has often been pictured as the epitome of all the bigoted qualities of Puritanism; but to accept Ward as such is to forget the Laete, carved perhaps by his own hand, over the fireplace in the old house that used to stand on Ipswich Green.

The real character of Nathaniel Ward does not seem difficult of analysis, although his personality presents certain complexities on the surface. His philosophy of life is simple, it can be summed up in the one word Order. Existence becomes complicated only when men disregard those rules of conduct that have been directly enunciated by God or shaped with divine sanction. "The Truths of God are the Pillars of the world, whereon States and Churches may stand quiet if they will."[1] By inheritance and training, Ward was a Calvinist, yet the specific tenets of that system are seldom reflected in his works. He was never a disputant upon the issues that divide religious thought of his day. His bitterest attacks on the Sectarians were

never launched against specific dogmas but against the chaotic tendency of the whole movement. Only when the unity of the Church itself was threatened did he draw his sword; to matters that did not touch the fundamentals of the system, he remained indifferent. This explains the equivocal part he played in the trial of Anne Hutchinson in Massachusetts. His attitude made him, paradoxically, extremely liberal within the bounds of his intolerance. He could, and did, fight manfully for stringent laws against heresy and freedom of religious thought, but it cannot be questioned that his enforcement of such a statute would have been liberal to the highest degree. The law would have been evoked only to preserve the validity and authority of the Church. In a sense this points to a lack of deep religious emotion, since it places organization above precept. And it is probably not unfair to Ward to say that he was not motivated by any great devotional enthusiasm. There was nothing of the mystic or the fanatic in his nature; differences of religious opinion remained into conformity with the established system. Thus we find him, in The Simple Cobler, consistently preaching composition as the alternative to toleration. Time may prove the sanity of such an attitude, but the hour of conflict never popularizes it. Ward does not seem to have achieved any great reputation as a preacher, nor was he regarded as an authority on purely religious matters.

Ward's political attitude is equally well explained by his simple philosophy.[1] As his theological studies lead him to a firm belief in a divinely ordained centralized Church, so the years spent

over his law books in Lincoln's Inn convinced him of the sanctity inherent in the English Monarchy. Concerning the relative authority and responsibility of King, Lords, and Commons there might be differences of opinion, but of the divine sanction behind the institution there could be no question. So in his quarrel with the Independents, as in his quarrel with the Sectarians, it was anarchy andchaos that he battled, not opinions. And here, too, we find a seeming paradox explained. Ward's political theories were aristocratic and rigid, but within the limits of a centralized State, he was liberal and democratic. He feared and distrusted the populace only when they threatened to override constitutional authority. His popularity with the democratic freemen in Massachusetts and his activities on their behalf are thus explained. He opposed Winthrop not so much from disapproval of the specific acts of the Governor, as from an inherent disbelief in the oligarchical and unconstitutional government they fostered. By temperament Ward was in many ways better fitted for the political arena than for religious controversy. Certainly it was there that he achieved his most signal success. The Body of Liberties stands as a monument not only to his fundamental liberalism, but to his legal skill as well. He gave the people their Magna Carta, and yet in doing so avoided the dangers of conflict with Charter and English Law: the abiding fear of the magistrates.

Although the laws Ward framed for the Massachusetts Bay Colony were in advance of any legal code of the day, especially in their humanitarian aspect, Ward was far from being a progressive in the usual sense of that term. On the other hand he was not a re-

actionary. He was a conservative in the literal meaning of that word. He desired to conserve and preserve the existing order. He could sanction reform but not change, although any reforms he sanctioned were invariably liberal. To this extent he stood in the way of progress, but to the same extent his influence was often salutary. This was particularly true in Massachusetts, where rapid development invited unsound experimentation. He served as a check on magistrates and people alike. One cannot read far in the records of the colony without feeling that Ward was a stabilizing influence at a time when conflicting opinions threatened disaster. There is a hint of stubbornness in it all of course: balance wheels are stubborn things on any piece of machinery.

Tenacity of purpose seems to have been an outstanding characteristic of Ward. In a life that made a fetish of order and system it would be. His immediate family must often have felt the iron quality of it; that it did not breed bitterness shows that it must have been tempered by other more genial qualities. In the wider field of public activity, this singleness of purpose was definitely an asset, for while it might arouse enmity, it made him respected and trusted even by those who opposed him. Yet after his return to England, it soon brought him to an impasse, for circumstances were overwhelmingly against him, and here he could not compromise.

All this suggests the egocentric. He could not sink his individualism in any cause or party. He thought and fought essentially alone. This engendered a feeling of spiritual isolation that colored

his moods with melancholy. He felt this loneliness and gave it vivid expression in his letter to John Cotton in 1631. Although he never again so specifically broke his reticence, the note sounded in that letter is struck again and again. We know so little of his early life that we cannot say whether this characteristic was innate or engendered by experience. Until he drifted into the ministry in 1617, the purpose or purposes that animated his life are unknown, and the key to many of the enigmas of his character may lie hidden in the period between his graduation from Emmanuel and his residence at Lincoln's Inn. If we knew how he came to take up the study of the law, if we knew more exactly the cause of his deserting that profession, we might understand better the strain of melancholy in him. Or the secret may rest in the hardly better known period of his foreign travels. But wherever the cause eventually be found, its nature will almost certainly be frustration. In the letter to Sancroft, in his dedication to Jethro, in his reference to Prince Rupert, and in his address to the King in The Simple Cobler, there is positive indication of a more than casual relationship with those in high place and high power. At some time, in some way the door of preferment was opened to him, but for some reason entrance was denied. The chill of thwarted hopes paralyzed confidence both in self and mankind. In Ward's case, it did not, as it so often does in more complex natures, engender revolt and cynicism, but it did leave bitterness and resignation -- a resignation that, without killing ambition, destroyed the power to achieve.

In coming to Massachusetts he may have sought escape, have

felt that in a new environment there might come a recrudescence of power, a liberation of his fettered spirit. To an extent he succeeded. The stimulating atmosphere of a growing nation was a not ineffectual tonic. It is surely significant that in America he achieved his most concrete success, and that here he wrote his one lasting book. But his temperament was ill suited for pioneer life or the rapid changes that accompanied the quick growth of the Massachusetts colony. The congenial circle at Ipswich was broken. The younger Winthrop, Dudley and Bradstreet, departed for other settlements, and with them went the intellectual companionship so necessary to Ward. His sense of loneliness increased. In the discontented years that immediately preceded his return to England, there is ample evidence that he was striving, not too clearly, for a peace of mind he could not attain.[2] If this state of mind did not produce melancholy, it did result in moods of bitterness that found release perhaps in the writing of The Simple Cobler.

But in spite of it all he was clearly a man whose society was valued for its own sake. He tells us in The Simple Cobler that he was regarded as a very sociable man, and there is no reason to doubt his statement. The satirical essay on women's fashions is obviously not the criticism of an outsider, but of one who speaks from within the social circle. Ward liked and appreciated good society; he enjoyed ease and luxury, and was unhappy when these comforts of the flesh were out of his reach. In his happier moods he must have been a rare companion. His travels, his courtly associations, furnished a rich background of experience. If these

did not broaden his philosophical outlook -- and they do not seem to have done so -- they at least made him appreciative of the pleasures of social intercourse with congenial spirits. He never cared for popularity nor enjoyed notoriety in any form, but the fruits of select companionship he valued highly. If figures of speech in The Simple Cobler mean anything, he knew chess, and this aristocrat among games had a place in his recreations. His fondness for Horace among the ancient writers is likewise suggestive, for few admirers of the Horatian Odes are numbered among the social liabilities of the world. His tastes were those of a cultivated gentleman of any time or age.

The characteristic that is most often mentioned in contemporary references to him is his wit and humor. Increase Mather tells us that Ward had many witty speeches, but that one was worth them all: "I have only two comforts to Live upon; the one is in the Perfection of Christ; the other the Imperfection of all Christians."[3] Hutchinson prints the following anecdote which Ward, in a letter, denies in detail, although the incident is true in part. It relates to the time when Gorton and some of his f ellow prisoners were incarcerated at Boston. "Mr. Ward a minister came to the prison window and called to him one of the prisoners who had been his neighbor in Essex, England, and desired him, if he had done or said anything he could with good conscience renounce that he would recant, and probably the court would be merciful; and added, that this would be no disparagement, for the reverend Mr. Cotton ordinarily preacheth that publically one year that the next he publically repents of before the congregation."[4] The character

of Ward's denial is so circumstantial that it suggests the story may be as much true as false. Another anecdote that contains too many anachronisms to be worth much as fact is told by Samuel Peters in his History of the Rev. Hugh Peters. The curious may find it reprinted in Duyckinck's Cyclopedia of American Literature.[5] It at least shows clearly that Ward's reputation as a humorist was robust enough to become legendary in the colony.

We may be sure that the satiric humor of Ward made him a popular figure among his friends, and that to such men as Dudley and Denison, Bradstreet and Saltonstall, the figure of the Simple Cobbler was both appreciated and loved. Real humor was not a surplus article in the Puritan communities, and Ward's keen wit, even though it often carried a barb on its shaft, shone doubly bright in his surroundings. It could not have failed to find favor with the common people who were not without their full share of broad English humor.

It is curious that Ward's sense of humor seems to have been developed and to have found its fullest expression in America. Neither before nor after his residence here is the humorous note either marked or individualized in his writings. Was there something in the atmosphere of the American wilderness that fostered his ability to laugh at the world and its foibles? Certainly his humor is the most American characteristic about him. It loses its pith in the milder climate of old England. Was it this quality that caused his English admirers to speak of him always as the American Cobbler? Perhaps. If the literary critic is puzzled to find a place for Ward in America's literary lineage, he may grant him collateral kinship to the line that gave us Franklin, Josh Billings and Mark Twain.

Yet it is neither necessary nor wise to stress the Americanism of Nathaniel Ward. Twelve years of residence in Puritan Massachusetts was all too short a period for him to leave any deep impress upon her literary thought or development. His real service to America was political rather than literary. The Simple Cobler, fine as it is, left no traceable influence on the later development of American literature. The Body of Liberties, on the other hand, made its influence felt through many years of legal practice and legislation, and was unquestionably a directing force in the early and critical years of American political life.

Although America could not hold him in the flesh, the spirit and the fame of Nathaniel Ward are hers, justly to cherish and preserve in her history. What he gave and what he took are mere academic questions. Let busy seekers after Ph. D's stir as they will the dust of research, they cannot cloud the title he has made his own: The Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America.

Notes to Chapter XII

1 Simple Cobler, p. 1.

2 See Firmin's letter to Winthrop, ante, p. 150.

3 Remarkables of Increase Mather, p. 187.

4 Hutchinson's History, i:115.

5 Duyckinck's Cyclopedia of Am. Lit., i:195.

T E X T

OF

T H E S I M P L E C O B L E R

(4th edition)

THE

S I M P L E C O B L E R

OF

AGGAVVAMM IN AMERICA.

WILLING

To help 'mend his Native Country, la-
mentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather
and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take.

And as willing never to bee paid for his work,
by Old English wonted pay.

It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis,
Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purses.

By Theodore de la Guard.

The Fourth Edition, with some Amendments.

In rebus arduis ac tenui spe, fortissima
quaque consilia tutissima sunt. Cic.

In English,
When bootes and shoes are torne up to the lefts,
Coblers must thrust their awles up to the hefts.
This is no time to feare Apelles gramm:
Ne Sutor quidem ultra crepidam.

LONDON,

Printed by J.D.& R.I. for Stephen Bowtell, at the signe of the
Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

THE

SIMPLE COBLER

OF

AGGAVVAMM in AMERICA.

WILLING

To help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take.

And as willing never to bee paid for his work, by Old English wonted pay.

It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis.

Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purses.

By *Theodore de la Guard.*
(Nathaniel Ward.)

The Fourth Edition, with some Amendments.

In rebus arduis ac tenui spe, fortissima quæque consilia tutissima sunt. Cic.

In English,
When bootes and shoes are torne up to the lefts,
Coblers must thrust their awles up to the hefts.

This is no time to feare *Apelles gramm*:
Ne Sutor quidem ultra crepidam.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D. & R. I.* for *Stephen Bowtell*, at the signe of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

Title page of the fourth edition of

The Simple Cobler

(From the copy in the Harvard College Library.)

[1]# # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # #

TO THE

R E A D E R :

Gentlemen,

Pray make a little roome for a Cobler, his work was done in time, but a ship setting sayle one day too soon makes it appeare some weeks too late; Seeing hee is so reasonable as to demand no other pay for his labour and leather, but leave to pay us well for our faults, let it be well accepted, as Counsell in our occasions to come, and as Testimony to what is past,

By a Friend.

1. The 1st edition differs from the others in the ornamental head-piece. In all other respects this page is identical in the four editions.

# #

SUTOR

ULTRA CREPIDAM.[1]

ITHER[2] I am in an Appoplexie, or that man is in a Lethargie, who doth not now sensibly feele God shaking the heavens over his head, and the earth under his feet: The Heavens so, as the Sun begins to turne into darknesse, the Moon into blood, the Starres to fall down to the ground; So that little Light of Comfort or Counsell is left to the sonnes of men: The Earth so, as the foundations are failing, the righteous scarce know where to finde rest, the inhabitants stagger like drunken men: it is in a manner dissolved both in Religions and Relations: And no marvell; for, they have defiled it by transgressing the Lawes,[3] changing the Ordinances, and breaking the Everlasting Covenant. The Truths of God are the Pillars of the world, whereon States and Churches may stand quiet if they will; if they will not, Hee[4] can easily shake them off into delusions, and distractions enough.

1. 1st edition has: The/Simple Cobler/ of Aggawam in America.
2. The ornate E is the same in all four editions. The balance of the word is in small type in the 1st edition, light faced capitals in the 2d and 3d, and in ordinary capitals in the 4th.
3. Laws in 2d and 3d edition.
4. He in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

Sathan in now in his passions, he[1] feeles his passion approaching; hee loves to fish in royled waters. Though that Dragon cannot sting the vitals of the Elect mortally, yet that Beelzebub can fly-blow their Intellectuals miserably: The finer Religion grows, the finer hee spins his Cobwebs; hee will hold place with Christ so long as his wits will serve him. Hee sees himselfe beaten out of grosse Idolatries, Heresies, Ceremonies, where the Light breakes forth with power; he will therefore bestirre him to prevaricate Evangelicall Truths, and Ordinances, that if they will needs be wa[k]ing, yet they shall <u>laborare varicibus</u>, and not keep their path,[2] he will put them out of time and place; Assassinating[3] for his Engineers, men of Paracelsian parts;[4] well complexioned for honesty; for, such are fittest to Mountebanke his Chimistry into sicke[5] Churches and weake Judgements.

Nor shall hee need[6] to stretch his strength overmuch in this worke: Too many men having not laid their foundations[7] sure, nor ballasted their Spirits deepe[8] with humility and feare, are prest enough of themselves to evaporate their owne apprehensions.

1. hee in 1st edition.
2. Colon in place of comma in 1st, 2d, and 3d editions.
3. Assascinating in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Comma in place of semi-colon in 1st edition.
5. sick in 2d and 3d edition.
6. neede in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. foundation in 1st and 2d editions.
8. deep in 1st edition.

Those that are acquainted with Story know, it hath ever beene[1] so in new Editions of Churches: Such as are least able, are most busie[2] to pudder in the rubbish, and to raise dust in the eyes of more steady Repayrers. Civill Commotions make roome[3] for uncivill practises: Religious mutations, for irreligious opinions: Change of Aire,[4] discovers corrupt bodies;[5] Reformation of Religion, unsounde mindes. Hee[6] that hath any well-faced phansy[7] in his Crowne, and doth not vent it now, fears[8] the pride of his owne heart will dub him dunce[9] for ever. Such a one will trouble the whole Israel of God with his most untimely births, though he makes the bones of his vanity stick[10] up, to the view and griefe of all that are godly wise. The devill desiers no better sport then to see light heads handle their heels,[11] and fetch their carreers in a time, when the Roofe of Liberty stands open.

The next perplexed Question, with pious and ponderous men, will be: What should bee[12] done for the healing of these comfortlesse exulcerations. I[13] am the unablest adviser of a thousand, the unworthiest of ten thousand; yet I hope I[14] may

1. been in 1st, 2d, and 3d editions.
2. busy in 1st edition.
3. room in 1st edition.
4. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
5. A colon in the 1st edition.
6. He in 1st, 2d, and 3d editions.
7. phancy in 1st edition. The a is inverted in the 2d edition.
8. A comma follows this word in the 1st edition.
9. duns in 1stedition.
10. sticke in 2d and 3d editions.
11. heeles in 1st edition.
12. be in 1st edition.
13. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
14. Using J for I in 2d and 3d editions.

presume to assert what follows without just offence.

First, such as have given or taken any unfriendly reports of us New-English, should doe well to recollect themselves. Wee[1] have beene reputed a Colluvies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wildernes to find elbow-roome for our phanatick Doctrines and practices: I[2] trust our diligence past, and constant sedulity against such persons and courses, will plead better things for us. I[2] dare take upon me, to bee[3] the Herauld of New-England so farre, as to proclaime to the world, in the name of our Colony, that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts[4] shall have free Liberty to keepe[5] away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better.[6]

Secondly, I[7] dare averre, that God doth no where in his word tolerate Christian States, to give Tolerations to such adversaries of his Truth, if they have power in their hands to suppresse them.

Here is lately brought us an Extract of a Magna Charta, so called, compiled between the Sub-planters of a West-Indian Island; whereof the first Article of constipulation, firmly[8]

1. We in 1st, 2d, and 3d editions.
2. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
3. be in 1st edition.
4. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. keep in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. beter in 2d and 3d editions.
7. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
8. firmely in 3d edition.

provides free stable-room and litter for all kinde of consciences, be they never so dirty[1] or jadish; making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturbe any man in his Religion, or to discommend it, whatever it be. Wee[2] are very sorry to see such professed prophanenesse in English Professors,[3] as industriously to lay their Religious foundations on the ruine of true Religion; which strictly binds[4] every conscience to contend earnestly for the Truth: to preserve unity of spirit, Faith[5] and Ordinances, to be all like minded,[6] of one accord; every man to take his brother into his Christian care: to stand fast with one spirit, with one mind,[7] striving together for the faith of the Gospel.[8] and by no meanes to permit Heresies or erronious[9] opinions: But God abhorring[10] such loathsome beverages, hath in his righteous judgement blasted that enterprize, which might otherwise have prospered well, for ought I know;[11] I[12] presume their case is generally knowne[13] ere this.

If the devill might have his free option, I beleeve he would ask nothing else, but liberty to enfranchize all false[14]

1. durty in 3d edition.
2. We in 1st edition.
3. Not capitalized in 3d edition.
4. bindes in 1st edition.
5. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. like-minded in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. minde in 1st edition.
8. This passage is not italicized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions. The punctuation is a colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. erroneous in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. God' abhorring in 2d edition.
11. Colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
12. Italicized in 1st dition.
13. known in 1st edition.
14. other in 1st edition.

Religions, and to embondage the true; nor should hee[1] need; It is much to be feared, that laxe Tolerations upon State-pretences and planting necessities, will be the next subtle Stratagem he will spread to distate the Truth of God and supplant the peace of the Churches. Tolerations in things tolerable, exquisitely drawn out by the lines of the Scripture, and pensill of the Spirit, are the sacred favours of Truth, the due latitudes of Love, the faire Compartiments of Christian fraternity; but irregular dispensations, dealt forth by the facilities of men, are the frontiers of error,[2] the redoubts of Schisme, the perillous irritaments of carnall and spirituall[3] enmity.

My heart hath naturally detested foure things: The standing of the Apocrypha in the Bible; Forrainers dwelling in my Countrey, to crowd out native Subjects into the corners of the Earth; Alchymized coines; Tolerations of divers Religions, or of one Religion in segregant shapes: He that willingly assents to the last, if he examines his heart by day-light, his conscience will tell him, he is either an Atheist, or an Heretique, or an Hypocrite, or at best a captive to some Lust:[4] Poly-piety[5] is the greatest impiety in the world. True Religion is Ignis probationis, which doth congregare homogenea & segregare heterogenea.[6]

1. he in 1st edition.
2. errour in 1st and 2d editions.
3. and spirituall not in 1st edition.
4. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
5. polchpiety in 1st and 2d editions. Not capitalized in 3d edition.
6. heterogenia in 1st and 2d editions.

Not to tolerate things meerly indifferent to weak consciences, argues a conscience too strong: pressed uniformity in these, causes much disunity: To tolerate more then[1] indifferents, is not to deale indifferently with God:[2] He that doth it, takes his Scepter out of his hand, and bids him[3] stand by. Who hath to doe to institute Religion but God.[4] The power of all Religion and Ordinances, lies in their purity: their purity in their simplicity: then are mixtures pernicious. J[5] lived in a City,[6] where a Papist preached[7] in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calvinist in a third; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calvinist the other, in the same Pulpit: the Religion of that place was but motly and meagre, their affections Leopard-like.

If the whole Creature should conspire to doe the Creator a mischiefe, or offer him an insolency, it would be nothing more, than[8] in erecting untruths against his Truth, or by sophisticating his Truths with humane medleyes:[9] the removing of some one jota[10] in Scriptures, may draw out all the life, and traverse all the Truth of the whole Bible: but to authorise an untruh,[11] by a Toleration of State, is to build a Sconce against the walls of

1. than in 1st and 2d editions.
2. Semi-colon in 1st and 2d editions.
3. his, him in this line capitalized in 1st edition.
4. This sentence not in 1st edition.
5. I for J in 1st edition.
6. Probably refers to Ward's residence in Amsterdam or the Hague.
7. Capitalized in 1st edition.
8. then in 1st edition.
9. medley's in 1st edition.
10. iota in 1st edition.
11. untruth in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

heaven,[1] to batter God out of his Chaire: To tell a practicall lye, is a great sin,[2] but yet transient; but to set up a Theoricall untruth, is to warrant every lye that lyes[3] from its root to the top of every branch it hath, which are not a few.[4]

I[5] would willingly hope that no Member of the Parliament hath skilfully ingratiated himselfe[6] into the hearts of the House, that he might watch a time to midwife out some ungracious Toleration for his own turne, and for the sake of that, some other,[7] I[5] would also hope that a word of generall caution should not be[8] particularly misapplied. I am the freer to suggest it, because I know not one man of that mind, my aime is generall, and I desire may be so accepted.[9] Yet good Gentlemen, look[10] well with you, and remember how Tiberius play'd[11] the Fox with the Senate of Rome, and how Fabius Maximus cropt his ears[12] for his cunning.

That State is wise, that will improve all paines and patience rather to compose, then tolerate differences in Religion. There is no divine Truth, but hath much Coelestiall[13] fire in it from the Spirit of Truth: nor no irreligious untruth, without

1. Capitalized in 1st edition.
2. sinne in 1st edition.
3. lies in 2d and 3d editions.
4. "which is not a few" not in 1st edition.
5. J for I in 2d edition.
6. himself in 3d edition.
7. others in 1st and 2d editions.
8. bee in 1st edition.
9. This sentence not in 1st edition. mind is minde in 3d edition.
10. looke in 1st and 2d editions.
11. plaid in 1st and 2d editions.
12. eares in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. Celestiall in 1st and 2d editions.

its proportion of Antifiref rom the spirit[1] of Error to contradict it: the zeale of the one, the virulency of the other, must essarily kindle Combustions. Fiery diseases seated in the spirit, imbroile[2] the whole frame of the body:[3] others more externall and coole, are lesse dangerous. They which divide in Religion, divide in God; they who divide in him, divide beyond Genus Generalissimum; where there is no reconciliation, without atonement; that is, without uniting in him, who is One, and in his Truth, which is also one.

Wise are those men who will be perswaded rather to live within the pale of Truth where they may bee quiet, than in the purlieves,[4] where they are sure to be[5] hunted ever &[6] anon, do[7] Authority what it can. Every singular Opinion, hath a singular opinion of it self; and he that holds it[8] a singular opinion of himself,[9] &[10] a simple opinion of all contra - sentients: he that confutes them, must confute al[11] three at once, or else he does nothing; which will not be done without more stir[12] than[13] the peace of the State or Church can indure.

1. Capitalized in 1st edition.
2. embroile in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Semi-colon in 1st.
4. purliev's in 1st edition.
5. bee in 1st edition.
6. and in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. doe in 1st edition.
8. Comma in 1st edition.
9. himselfe in 1st edition.
10. and in 1st, 2d and 3deditions.
11. all in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
12. stirre in 1st edition.
13. then in 1st edition.

And prudent are those Christians, that will rather give what may be given, then hazard all by yeelding nothing. To sell all peace of Country, to buy some peace of conscience[1] unseasonably, is more avarice than thrift, imprudence than patience: they deal[2] not equally, that set any Truth of God at such a rate; but they deal[2] wisely that will stay till the Market is fallen.

My prognosticks deceive me not a little, if once within three seaven[3] years, [4] peace prove not such a penny-wroth at most Marts in Christendome, that hee[5] that would not lay down[6] his money, his lust, his opinion, his will, I had almost said the best flower of his Crowne[7] for it, while he might have had it; will tell his own[8] heart, he plaid the very ill husband.

Concerning Tolerations I may further assert.[9] That Persecution of true Religion, and Toleration of false, are the Jannes and Jambres of the Kingdome of Christ, whereof the last is farre the worst. Augustines tongue had not owed his mouth one penny-rent though he[10] had never spake word more in it, but this, Nullum malum pejus libertate errandi.

Frederick Duke of Saxon, spake not one foote beyond the

1. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. deale in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. seven in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. yeares in 1st edition.
5. he in 1st edition.
6. downe in 1st edition.
7. Crown in 2d and 3d; comma in 1st.
8. owne in 1st edition.
9. This sentence is italicized in 1st edition. In 1st and 2d editions it is separated from the preceding line by a space.
10. it in 1st and 2d editions.

mark when he said. He had rather the Earth should swallow him up quick,then he should give a toleration to any opinion against any truth of God.[1]

He that is willing to tolerate any Religion, or discrepant way of Religion, besides his own,[2] unlesse it be in matters meerly indifferent, either doubts of his own,[2] or is not sincere in it.

He that is willing to tolerate any unsound Opinion, that his own[2] may also be tolerated, though never so sound, will for a need hang Gods Bible a t the Devills[3] girdle.

Every Toleration of false Religions, or Opinions hath as many Errours and sins[4] in it, as all the false Religions and Opinions it tolerats,[5] and one sound one more.

That State that will give Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, must give Liberty of Conscience and Conversation in their Morall Laws, or else the Fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack.[6]

He that will rather make an irreligious quarell[7] with other Religions[8] then try the Truth of his own by valuable Arguments, and peaceable Sufferings; either his Religion, or himselfe is irreligous.[9]

1. This paragraph not in 1st edition.
2. owne in 1st edition.
3. Devils in 2d and 3d editions.
4. sinnes in 1st edition.
5. tolerates in 1st and 2d editions.
6. cracke in 1st and 2d, crake in 3d edition.
7. quarrell in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Coma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. irreligious in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

Experience will teach Churches and Christians, that it is farre better to live in a State united, though a little[1] corrupt, then in a State, whereof some Part is incorrupt,[2] and all the rest divided.

I am not altogether ignorant of the eight Rules given by Orthodox divines[3] about giving Tolerations, yet with their favour I dare affirme,

That there in no Rule given by God for any State to give an affirmative[4] Toleration to any false Religion, or Opinion whatsoever; they must connive in some Cases, but may not concede in any.

That the State of England (so farre as my Intelligence serves) might in time have prevented with ease[5] and may yet without any great difficultie[6] deny both Toleration, and irregular[7] connivences[8] salva Republica.

That if the State of England shall either willingly Tolerate, or weakly connive at such Courses, the Church of that Kingdome will sooner become the Devils[9] dancing-Schoole,[10] then Gods Temple:[11] The Civill State a Beare-garden, then an Exchange:

1. somewhat in 1st edition.
2. Capitalized in 1st edition.
3. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions. 1st edition has comma.
4. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. difficulty in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. irregular not in 1st edition.
8. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
9. Devills in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. Capital D in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. Gods-Temple in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

The whole Realme a Pais base[1] then an England. And what pity it is, that that Country which hath been the Staple of Truth to all Christendome, should now become the Aviary of Errors to the whole world,[2] let every fearing heart judge.

I take Liberty of Conscience to be[3] nothing but a freedome from sinne, and error. Conscientia in tantum libera, in quantum ab errore liberata. And Liberty[4] of Errour[5] nothing but a Prison for Conscience. Then small will be[6] the kindnesse of a State to build such Prisons for their Subjects.

The Scripture saith, there is nothing makes free but Truth,[7] and Truth saith, there is no Truth but one:[8] If the States of the World would make it their summoperous[9] Care to preserve this One Truth in its purity and Authority it would ease you[10] of all other Politicall cares. I am sure Sathan[11] makes it his grand, if not only[12] taske,[13] to adulterate Truth; Falshood is his sole Scepter, whereby he first ruffled, and ever since ruined the World.

If the Truth be but One, me thinks all the Opinionists in England should not be all in that one Truth, some of them I

1. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
2. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
3. bee in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. Error in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. bee in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. John 8:32.
8. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
9. sumoperous in 1st edition.
10. them in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. Satan in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
12. onely in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. task in 1st edition.

doubt are out. He that can extract an unity out of such a disparity, or contract such a disparity into an unity; he need be a better Artist, then ever was Drebell.

If two Centers (as we may suppose) be in one Circle, and lines drawn from both to all the points of the Compasse, they will certainly crosse one another, and probably cut through the Centers themselves.

[1] There is talk[2] of an universall Toleration, I would talke[3] as loud as I could against it, did I[4] know what more apt and reasonable Sacrifice England could offer to God for his late performing all his heavenly Truths[5] then an universall Toleration of all hellish Errors, or how they shall make an universall Reformation, but by making Christs Academy the Divills[6] University,[7] where any man may commence Heretique per saltum; where he that is filius Diabolicus, or simpliciter pessimus, may have his grace to goe to Hell[8] cum Publico Privilegio; and carry as many after him, as he can.

[9] Religio docenda est, non coercenda is a prety[10] piece of album Latinum for some kinde of throats that are willingly sore, but Haeresis dedocenda est non permittenda, will be found[11] a

1. A space separates the paragraphs in the 1st edition.
2. talke in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. talk in 1st edition.
4. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
5. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. Devils in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. V for U in 1st edition.
8. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. A space separates the paragraphs in the 1st edition.
10. pretty in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. "found in a" in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

farre better Diamoron for the Gargarismes this Age wants, if timely and throughly applyed.

If[1] there be roome in England for

	Familists		Mines
	Libertines		Lemures
	Erastians		Dryades
	Antitrinitarians		Homadryades
	Anabaptist		Potamides
	Antiscripturists		Naiades
	Arminians		Hinnides
	Manifestarians		Pierides
	Millinaries	the nom[2]	Nereides
	Antinomians	for	Pales
	Socinians		Anonides
	Arrians		Parcades
	Perfectists		Castalides
	Brownists*		Monides
Religious	Mortalians	Good Spi-	Charites
Men but	Seekers	rits, but ve-	Heliconides
pernicious	Enthusiasts,	ry Devils.[4]	Pegasides.
Heretiques[3]	&c.		&c.

*By Brownists I mean not Independents, but dew-clawd Seperatists: farre be it from me to wrong godly Independents. I truely acknowledge that I judge my self neither able nor worthy to honour some of them as they deserve.[5]

In[1] a word room for Hell above ground.

1. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
2. then room in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Period in 1st edition.
4. Devills in 1st edition.
5. The 1st edition has no marginal note. The 2d has only the first sentence.

[1]It is said, Though a man have light enough himselfe to see the Truth, yet if he hath not enough to enlighten others, he is bound to tolerate them, I will engage my self, that all the Devills in Britanie shall sell themselves to their shirts, to purchase a Lease of this Position for three of their Lives, under the Seale of the Parliament.

It is[2] said, that Men[3] ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is persecution to debarre them of it: I can rather stand amazed then reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious[4] ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Assertion worse then this (one excepted) I will petition to be chosen the universall Ideot of the world.

[5]It is said, That Civill Magistrates ought not to meddle with Ecclesiasticall matters.

I would answer to this so well as I could, did I not know that some papers lately brought out of New-England, are going to the Presse, wherein the Opinions of the Elders there in a late Synod, concerning this point are manifested, which I suppose will give clearer satisfaction then I can.[6]

The true English of all this their false Latine, is nothing

1. The following five paragraphs are not found in the 1st edition.
2. likewise in 3d edition.
3. Not capitalized in 3d edition.
4. wilfull for impious in 3d edition.
5. The three following paragraphs were added in the 4th edition.
6. Perhaps John Cotton's: Results of A Synod, etc. The date of the first edition of this work is uncertain.

but a generall Toleration of all Opinions; which motion if it be like to take, it were very requisite, that the City would repaire Pauls with all the speed they can, for an English Pantheon, and bestow it upon the Sectaries, freely to assemble in, then there may be some hope that London will be quiet in time.

But why dwell I[1] so intolerable long about Tolerations, I[1] hope my fears[2] are but panick, against which I have a double cordiall. First, that the Parliament will not though they could: Secondly, that they cannot though they would grant such Tolerations. God who hath so honoured them with eminent wisdome in all other things, will not suffer them to cast both his, and their Honour in the dust of perpetuall Infamy, doe what they can; nor shall those who have spent so great a part of their substance[3] in redeeming their Civill Liberties from Usurpation, lose all that remaines in enthralling their spirituall Liberty by Toleration.

It is said Opinionists are many, and strong, that de sunt Vires,[4] that it is turbata respublica,[5] I am very sorry for it, but more sorry, if despondency of minde shall cause the least tergiversation in Gods Worthies, who have receiv'd such pledges of his presence in their late Counsels, and Conflicts. It is not thousands of Opinionists that can pinion his Everlasting armes,[5] I can hardly beleeve there is a greater unbeleever then my Selfe,

1. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
2. feares in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. substistance in 1st edition.
4. Dires in 1st edition.
5. Capitalized in 1st edition.

yet I can verily beleeve that the God of Truth will in a short time scatter them all like smoake before the wind.[1] I confesse I am troubled to see Men so over-troubled about them; I am rather glad to heare the Devill is breaking up house in England, and removing somewhither[2] else, give him leave to sell all his rags, and odde-ends by the out-cry; and let his petty Chapmen make their Market while they may, upon my poore credit it will not last long. Hee that hath done so much for England will go[3] on to perfect his owne praise, and his Peoples Peace: Let good men stand still, and behold his further Salvation. He that sitteth[4] in the Heavens laughs at them, the most High[5] hath them in Derision, and their folly shall certainly be manifested to all men.

Yet I dare not but adde, and in the Name of God will adde, that if any Publique members of Church or State, have been either open fautors, or private[6] abetters of any blasphemous, contagious Opinions; It will be their wisdome to proportion their repentance to their Sin,[7] before God makes them Publique monuments of Ignominie, and Apostasie.

Thirdly, That all Christian States, ought to disavow and decry all such Errors,[8] by some peremptory Statutary[9] Act, and

1. winde in 1st edition.
2. somewhether in 1st edition.
3. goe in 2d and 3d editions.
4. sitteh in 1st edition.
5. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
6. privie in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Sinne in 1st edition.
8. Errours in 1st and 2d editions.
9. Statuary in 2d edition.

that in time, that Subjects knowing fully the minde of the State, might not delude themselves with vaine hopes of unsufferable Liberties. It is lesse to say,[1] Statuatur veritas, ruat Regnum, than Fiat justitia, ruat Coelum; but there is no such danger in either of them. Feare nothing Gentlmen, Rubiconem transiistis, jacta est alea, ye have turned the Devill out of doores; fling all his old parrell after him out at the windows, lest he makes another[2] errand for it againe. Quae relinquuntur in morbis post findicationem, recidivas facere consuevere. Christ would have his Church without spot or wrinckle; They that help[3] make it so, shall lose neither honour nor labour: If yee be wise, suffer no more thorns in his sides or your owne. When God kindles such fires as these, hee[4] doth not usually quench them, till the very scum on the pot sides be boyled cleane[5] away, Ezek. 24. 10, 11. Yee were better to doe it your selves, than leave it to him: the Arme of the Lord is mighty, his hand very heavy; who can dwell with his devouring fire, and long lasting[6] burnings?

Fourthly, to make speedy provision against Obstinates and Disseminaries:[7] where under favour, two things will be[8] found requisite. First, variety of penaltyes, I meane certaine, not

1. No comma in 1st edition.
2. an in 1st and 2d editions.
3. helpe in 1st edition.
4. he in 1st edition.
5. clean in 1st edition.
6. long-lasting in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
8. bee in 2d & 3d editions.

indefinite: I am a Crabbat against Arbitrary Government. Experience hath taught us here, that politicall, domesticall, and personall respects, will not admit one and the same remedy for all, without sad inconveniences. Secondly, just[1] severity: persecution hath ever spread Truth, prosecution scattered Errour: Ten of the most Christian Emperors, found that way best; Schollars know whom I[2] meane:[3] Five of the ancient Fathers perswaded to it, of whom Augustine was one, who for a time argued hard for indulgency: but upon conference with other prudent Bishops, altered his judgement, as appears in three of his Epistles, to Marcellinus, Donatus, and Boniface. I[2] would be understood, not onely an Allower, but an humble Petitioner, that ignorant and tender conscienced Anabaptists may have due time and means of conviction.

Fifthly,[4] That every Prophet, to whom God hath given the tongue of the learned, should teach, and every Angel[5] who hath a pen and inkehorne by his side[6] write against these grieving extravagancies: writing of many books,[7] I grant is irksome, reading endlesse. A reasonable man would thinke[8] Divines had declaimed sufficiently upon these Themes. I have ever thought the Rule given, Titus[9] 3.10. which cuts the work[10] short and sharpe to be more

1. Capitalized in 1st edition.
2. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
3. mean in 2d and 3d editions.
4. fiftly in 1st edition.
5. Angell in 1st edition.
6. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
7. bookes in 1st edition.
8. think in 2d and 3d editions.
9. Comma in 1st edition.
10. worke in 1st edition.

properly prevalent, then wearisome[1] waiting upon unweariable[2] Spirits. It is a most toylsome taske to run the wild-goose chase after a well-breath'd[3] Opinionist: they delight in vitilitigation: it is an itch[4] that loves alife[5] to be scrub'd:[6] they desire not satisfaction, but satisdiction, whereof themselves must be judges: yet in new eruptions of Error[7] with new objections, silence is sinfull.

As for my self,[8] I am none of the disputers of this world: all I can doe, is to guesse when men speak[9] true or false Divinity:[10] if I can but finde the parentall root,[11] or formall reason of a Truth, I am quiet; if I[12] cannot, I shore up my slender judgement as long as I can, with two or three the handsomest props I can get: I[12] shall therefore leave Arguments[13] to acuter heads, and onely speak[9] a word of Love, with all Christian respect to our deare Brethren[10] in England, which are against Baptizing[10] of Infants: I entreate[14] them to consider these few things seriously and meekly. First, what a high pitch of boldnesse it is for man to cut a

1. wearysome in 1st edition.
2. wearyable in 1st edition.
3. well breath'd in 1st edition.
4. Capitalized in 1st edition.
5. a life in 1st edition.
6. scrubd in 1st edition.
7. Errour in 1st edition.
8. selfe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. speake in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. roote in 2d and 3d editions.
12. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
13. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
14. intreat in 1st edition.

principall Ordinance out of the Kingdome of God: If it be but to make a dislocation, which so far[1] disgoods the Ordinance, I[2] feare it altogether unhallows it,[3] to transplace or transtime a stated Institution of Christ, without his direction, I[2] thinke, is to destroy it. Secondly, what a Cruelty it is to devest Children of the onely externall priviledge which their heavenly Father[4] hath bequeathed them to interest them visibly in Himselfe, His Son,[5] His Spirit, His Covenant of Grace, and the tender bosome of their carefull Mother[4] the Church. Thirdly, what an Inhumanity it is, to deprive Parents[4] of that comfort they may take from the baptisme of their Infants dying in their Childehood.[6] Fourthly, How unseasonable and unkindly it is, to interturbe the State and Church with these Amalekitish on-sets,[7] when they are in their extreame pangs of travell with their lives. Fifthly,[8] to[9] take a through view of those who have preambled this by path[10]. Being sometimes in the Crowds of foraigne[11] Wederdopers,[12] that is, Anabaptists; and prying into their inward frames with the best eyes I had; I could not but observe these disguised guises in the generality of them.

1. farre in 1st edition.
2. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
3. Colon in 1st edition.
4. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
5. Sonne in 1st edition.
6. childehoold in 1st edition.
7. onsets in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. Fiftly in 1st edition.
9. Capitalized in 1st edition.
10. by-path in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. foraine in 1st edition.
12. weather-dopers in 1st; weatheredopers in 2d edition.

First, a[1] flat formality of Spirit without salt or savour in the spiritualities of Christ, as if their Religion began and ended in their Opinion. Secondly, a shallow slighting of such as discent[2] from them, appearing too often in their faces, speeches and carriages. Thirdly, a feeble, yet peremptory obstinacy; seldome are any of them reclaimed. Fourthly, a shamefull sliding into other such tarpauling tenets, to keep themselves dry from the showers of Iustice,[3] as a rationall minde would never entertain, if it were not Errour-blasted[4] from Heaven and Hell. I should as shrewdly suspect that Opinion, that will cordially corrive with two or three sottish errours,[5] as that faith that can professedly live with two or three sordid sins. I[6] dare not feare our godly Brethren[7] in England to be yet comming to this passe; how soon they may, themselves know not,[8] the times are slippery: They will undoubtedly finde God as jealous of his Ordinances, as themselves are zealous[9] of their Opinions.[10]

Sixthly, that Authority ought to see their Subjects children baptized, though their Parents judgements be against it, if there be no other Evangelicall barre in the way.

1. Capitalized in 1st edition.
2. dissent in 1st, 2 d and 3d editions.
3. J in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. Error-blasted in 1st edition.
5. errors in 1st edition.
6. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
7. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
8. Semi-colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. The two words: are zealous, were added in the 3d edition.
10. Colon in the 1st edition.

Seventhly, that prudent men, especially young, should doe well not to ingage themselves in conference with Errorists, without a good calling and great caution; their breath is contagious, their leprey spreading: receive not him that is weak, saith the Apostle to doubtfull disputations; much lesse may they run,[1] themselves into dangerous Sophistications. He usually hears best in their meetings, that stops his ears[2] closest; he opens his mouth to best purpose, that keeps it shut, and he doth best of all, that declines their company as wisely as he may.

Brethren, have an extraordinary care also of the late Theosophers, that teach men to climbe to heaven upon a ladder of lying figments. Rather then the devill will lose his game, he will out-shoot Christ in his owne[3] bow; he will out-law[4] the Law, quite out of the word and world: over-Gospell the Gospell, and quidanye Christ, with Sugar and Rats-bane. Hee[5] was Professour not long since at Schlestat[6] in Alsatia, where he learned, that no poyson is so deadly as the poyson of Grace.

The wisest way, when all is said, is with all humility and feare, to take Christ as himselfe hath revealed himselfe in his Gospel, and not as the Devill presents him to prestigiated

1. No comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. eares in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. own in 1st edition.
4. He in 1st edition.
5. Not italicized in 1st edition.

fansies.[1] I have ever hated the way of the Rosie-Crucians, who reject things as Gods wisedome[2] hath tempered them, and will have nothing but their Spirits.[3] If I were to give physick to Spryts,[4] I would do[5] so too: but when I want Physick[6] for my body, I would not have my soule tartared: nor my Animall Spirits purged any way, but by my Naturall, and those by my bodily humours, and those by such Ordinaries, as have the nearest vicinage to them, and not by Metaphysicall Limbeckings.[7] I cannot thinke that materia prima or secunda, should bee[8] good for me, that am at least, Materia millessima sexcentesima quadragesima quinta.

Here I hold my selfe bound to set up a Beacon, to give warning of a new-sprung Sect of phrantasticks,[9] which would perswade themselves and others, that they have discovered the Nor-west passage to Heaven. These wits of the game, cry up and downe in corners such bold ignotions of a new Gospell,[10] new Christ, new Faith, and new gay-nothings, as trouble unsetled heads, querulous hearts, and not a little grieve the Spirit of God. I desire all good men may be saved from their Lunatick Creed, by Infidelity; and rather beleeve these torrid overtures will prove in time, nothing but horrid raptures downe to the lowest hell, from which

1. phansies in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. wisdome in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Colon in 1st edition.
4. Sprits in 1st edition.
5. doe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Limberkings in 1st and 2d editions.
8. be in 1st edition.
9. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions
10. Gospel in 1st edition.

he that would be delivered, let him avoid these blasphemers, a late fry of croaking Frogs, not to be[1] indured in a Religious State, no[2] if it were possible, not an houre.

As some are playing young Spaniels, questing at every bird that rises;[3] so others, heldvery good men, are at a dead stand, not knowing what to doe or say; and are therefore called Seekers, looking for new Nuntio's from Christ, to assoile these benighted questions, and to give new Orders for new Churches. I crave leave with all respect to tell them, that if they looke into Act. 20.20.25. Gal. 1. 8.[4] 9. 1. Tim. 6.13.16. and finde them not there; they may happily seek[5] as the young Prophets did for Eliah's corps, where it never was, nor ever will be found.

I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghost should give Timothie[6] the solemnest charge, was ever given mortall man, to observe the Rules he had given, till the comming of Christ, if new things must be expected.

Woebe to them, who ever they be, that so trouble the waves of God that they who have found the way to heaven[4] cannot find[7] the way to Church: And woe be to them, that so gaze at the glorious light, they say, will breake[8] forth in the thousand yeares

1. bee in 1st edition.
2. No comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. arises in 2d edition.
4. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. seeke in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. Tim: in 1st edition.
7. finde in 1st edition.
8. break in 1st and 2d editions.

to come, that they make little of the gratious[1] Truth that hath been revealed these sixteen hundred years past. And woe be to them that so under-value the first Master Builders,[2] I mean the Apostles of Christ, that unlesse he sends wiser than[3] they, He must be accounted lesse faithful in his house than Moses was.

I have cause enough to be as charitable to others a s any man living; yet I[4] cannot but feare,[5] that those men never Moored their Anchors well in the firme soile of Heaven;[6] that are weather-waft up and down with every eddy-wind of every new doctrine.[7] The good Spirit of God doth not usually tie up the Helme, and suffer passengers to heaven[7] to ride a drift, hither and thither, as every wave and current carries[8] them: that is a fitter course for such as the Apostle calls wandring Starrs[9] and Meteors, without any certaine[10] motion, hurried[11] about with tempests, bred of the Exhalations of their owne[12] pride and selfe-wittednesse:[13] whose damnation sleepeth not, and to whom the mist of darknesse is reserved for ever, that they may suffer

1. gracious in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. Master-Builders in 1st and 2d editions.
3. then in 1st, 2d and3d editions.
4. Italicized in 1st edition.
5. fear in 1st edition.
6. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Capitalized in 1st edition.
8. carryes in 1st edition.
9. Starres in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. certain in 1st, and 2d editions.
11. hurryed in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
12. owne in 1st and 2d editions.
13. selfe-wittednesse in 1st edition,

irreparable shipwrack upon the Sands and Rocks of their owne[1] Errors,[2] being of old ordained to condemnation.

Eightly, let all considerate men beware of ungrounded opinions in Religion:[3] Since I knew what to feare,[4] my heart[5] hath dreaded three things: a blazing starre appearing in the aire:[6] a State Comet, I[7] meane[8] a favourite rising in a Kingdome,[9] a new Opinion spreading in Religion: these are Exorbitancies: which is a formidable word; a vacuum and an exorbitancy, are mundicidious[10] evils,[11] Concerning Novelties of opinions; I[12] shall expresse my thoughts in these briefe passages. First, that Truth is the best boone God ever gave the world: there is nothing in the world, world,[13] any further then Truth makes it so,[6] it is better then[14] any creat' Ens or Bonum, which are but Truth twins. Secondly, the least Truth of Gods Kingdome, doth in its place, uphold the whole Kingdome[15] of his Truths; Take away the least vericulum out of the world, and it unworlds all, potentially, and may unravell the whole texture actually, if it be not conserved by an Arme of superiordinary[16] power.

1. own in 1st edition.
2. Errours in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Not capitalized in 2d edition.
4. fear in 1st edition.
5. 1st and 2d editions read: my timerous heart.
6. Semi-colon in 1st and 2d editions.
7. Italicized in 1st edition.
8. mean in 1st and 2d editions.
9. Semi-colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. mundicious in 1st and 2d editions.
11. Period in 1st edition.
12. J for I in 1st edition.
13. 2d edition omits this word.
14. than in 1st edition.
15. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
16. extraordinary in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

Thirdly, the least Evangelicall Truth[1] is more worth than all the Civill Truths in the world, that are meerly so. Fourthly, that Truth is the Parent of all liberty[2] whether politicall or personall; so much untruth, so much thraldome, Ioh.[3] 8.32.

Hence it is, that God is so jealous of his Truths,[4] that he hath taken order in his due justice:[5] First, that no practicall sins is so sinfull as some errour in judgement; no man so accursed with indelible infamy[6] and dedolent impenitency, as Authors[7] of Heresie. Secondly, that the least Error, if grown[8] sturdy and pressed, shall set open the Spittle-doore[9] of all squint-eyd', wry-necked,[10] and brasen -faced[11] Errors that are or ever were of that litter; if they be not enough to serve its turne, it will beget more, though it hath not one crust of reason to maintain them. Thridly,[12] that[13] that State which will permit Errors in Religion, shall admit Errors in Policy unavoidably.[14] Fourthly, that that Policy which will suffer irreligious errors, shall suffer the losse of so much Liberty in one kind[15] or other,

1. Comma in 1st edition.
2. Capitalized in 1st edition.
3. John in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. Not capitalized in 2d edition.
5. Justice in 1st, Iustice in 2d editions.
6. infamie in 2d edition.
7. Authours in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. growne in 2d edition.
9. Spittle-door in 2d edition.
10. Semi-colon in 2d edition.
11. brazen-faced in 2d edition.
12. Thirdly in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. Comma in 1st edition.
14. unavoydably in 1st, unavoydable in 2d and 3d editions.
15. kinde in 1st edition.

I will not exempt Venice, Rhaguse,[1] the Cantons,[2] the Netherlands, or any.

An easie head may soon demonstrate,[3] that the prementioned Planters, by Tolerating all Religions,[3] had immazed themselves in the most intolerable confusions and inextricable thraldomes[4] the world ever heard of. I am perswaded the Devill himselfe was never willing with their proceedings, for feare it would breake[5] his wind[6] and wits to attend such a Province. I speak[7] it seriously, according to my meaning. How all Religions should enjoy their liberty, justice[8] its due regularity, Civill[9] cohabitation morall honesty, in one and the same Jurisdiction,[10] is beyond the Artique of my comprehension. If the whole conclave of Hell can so compromise, exadverse, and diametricall[11] contradictions, as to compolitize such a multimonstrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly; I trust I may say with all humble reverence, they can do[12] more then the Senate of Heaven. My modus loquendi pardoned:[13] I intirely[14] wish much welfare and more wisdom[15] to that Plantation.

1. No comma in 2d edition.
2. the Cantons, added in 4th edition.
3. Semi-colon in 2d edition.
4. thraldoms in 2d edition.
5. break in 1st and 3d editions.
6. winde in 1st and 3d editions.
7. speake in 2d edition.
8. Iustice in 2d edition.
9. Civil in 2d edition.
10. Iurisdiction in 2d edition.
11. diametriall in 1st, diamaticall in 2d editions.
12. doe in 1st and 2d editions.
13. Semi-colon in 1st edition.
14. entirely in 1st edition.
15. wisdome in 1st edition.

It is greatly to be lamented, to observe the wanton fearlessenesse of this Age, especially of the younger professors, to greet new opinions and Opinionists: as if former truths[1] were growne[2] superannuate, and saplesse,[3] if not altogether antiquate. Non senescet[4] veritas. No man ever saw a gray haire on the head or beard of any Truth, wrinckle, or morphew on its face: The bed of Truth is green all the yeare[5] long. Hee[6] that cannot solace himselfe with any saving truth,[1] as affectionately as at the first acquaintance with it, hath not only[7] a fastidious, but an adulterous heart.

If[8] all be true we heare, Never was any people under the Sun, so sick of new opinions[1] as English-men; nor of new fashions as English-women: If God helpe not the one, and the devill leave not helping the other,[9] a blind[10] man may easily foresee what will become of both. I[11] have spoken what I[12] intend for the present to men; I[13] shall speak[14] a word to the women anon:[15] in the mean time I[13] intreat them to prepare patience.

1. Capitalized in 1st edition.
2. grown in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. sapless in 2d edition.
4. senescit in 1st edition.
5. year in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. He in 1st and 2d editions.
7. onely in 1st and 2d editions.
8. J for I in 2d edition.
9. othee in 2d edition.
10. blinde in 1st edition.
11. Italicized in 2d edition.
12. Italicized in 1st and 2d editions.
13. Italicized in 1st edition.
14. speake in 2d edition.
15. Semi-colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

Ninthly, that godly humble Christians ought not to wonder impatiently at the wonderfull workes[1] of God in these times: it is full Season for him to worke[2] Soveraign worke,[3] to vindicate his Soveraignty, that men may feare before him. States are unstated, Rulers growne[4] Over-rulers, Subjects worse then men, Churches-decayed.[5] Tofts, Professors, empty casks filled with unholy humours; I[6] speake[7] not of all, but too many; I[6] condemne[8] not the generation of the just[9] God hath his remnant, whom he[10] will carefully preserve. If it bee[11] time for men to take up Defensive Arms[12] against such as are called Gods, upon the point of Salus populi,[13] it is high time for him that is God indeed, to draw his Sword against wormes and no men, upon the point of Majestas imperii: The piercing of his Sword shall discover the thoughts of many hearts.

Lastly, I[14] dare averre, that it ill becomes Christians any thing well-shod with the preparation of the Gospel, to meditate flight from their deare[15] Countrey upon these disturbances. Stand

1. works in 1st edition.
2. work in 1st and 2d editions.
3. work in 1st edition.
4. grown in 2d edition.
5. No hyphen in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Italicized in 1st edition.
7. speak in 1st and 2d editions.
8. condemn in 1st and 2d editions.
9. Colon in 1st and 2d editions.
10. hee in 3d edition.
11. be in 2d edition.
12. Armes in 1st and 2d editions.
13. Capital P in 1st edition.
14. J for I in 1st edition.
15. dear in 2d edition.

Your grounds ye Eleazars[1] and Shammahs, stir not a foot so long as you have halfe a foot of ground to stand upon: after one or two such Worthies,[2] a great Victory may be regained, and flying Israel may returne[3] to a rich spoile. English-men, be advised to love England, with your hearts and to preserve it by your Prayers. I[4] am bold[5] to say[6] that since the pure Primitive time, the Gospel never thrived so well in any soile on earth, as in the Brittish,[7] nor is the like goodnesse of nature, or Cornucopian plenty elsewhere to be found: if ye[8] lose that Country[9] and[10] finde[11] a better before ye[12] come to Heaven, my Cosmography failes me. I[13] am farre from discouraging any, whom necessity of Conscience or condition thrusts out by head and shoulders: if God calls any into a Wildernesse, Hee[14] will bee[15] no wildernesse to them. Jer. 2.31. witnesse his large beneficence to us here beyond expectation.

Ye say, why come not we over to helpe[16] the Lord against the Mighty, in these Sacred battailes?

1. Capital Z in 3d edition.
2. Not capitalized in 2d edition.
3. return in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. J for I in 1st edition.
5. bound in 2d edition.
6. Comma in 1st edition.
7. British in 1st edition.
8. we in 2d edition.
9. Countrey in 2d edition.
10. & in 3d edition.
11. find in 3d edition.
12. yee in 3d edition.
13. J for I in 1st edition.
14. He in 1st and 2d editions.
15. be in 1st edition.
16. help in 1st and 2d editions.

I[1] answer,[2] many here are diligently obser ving the counsell[3] of the same Prophet, 22.10. Weepe[4] not for him that is dead, neither bemoan him; but weep for him that is gone a way and shall returne[5] no more to see his Native Country. Divers[7] make it an Article of our American Creed, which a celebrated Divine of England hath observed upon Heb. 11.9. That no man ought to forsake his owne[8] countrey,[9] but upon extraordinary cause, and when that cause ceaseth, he is bound in conscience to returne[10] if he can: We are looking to him who hath our hopes and seasons in his only[11] wise hand.

In the mean time we desire to bow our knees before the Throne of Grace day and night, that the Lord would be[12] pleased in his tender mercy to still the sad unquietnesse and per-peracute contentions, of that most comfortable and renowned Island,[13] that at length He may have praise in his Churches, and his Churches peace in him, through Jesus Christ.

1. J for I in 1st edition.
2. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions, no comma in 2d and 3d.
3. councell in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Weep in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. return in 1st and 2d editions.
7. We in 1st edition.
8. own in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. Country in 1st edition.
10. return in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. onely in 1st and 3d editions.
13. bee in 3d edition.
14. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.

[1]SHould I[2] not keepe[3] promise in speaking a little to Womens fashions, they would take it unkindly: I[2] was loath to pester better matter with such stuffe; I[2] rather thought it meet[4] to let them stand by themselves, like the Quae Genus in the Grammar,[5] being Deficients, or Redundants, not to be[6] brought under any Rule: I[2] shall therefore make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their loose tongued[7] Liberty, and mispend a word or two upon their long-wasted, but short-skirted patience: a little use of my stirrup will doe no harme.

Ridentum dicere verum, quid prohibet?[8]

Gray Gravity it s elfe can well beteam,[9]
That Language be adapted to the Theme.
He[10] that to Parrots speaks, must parrotise:[11]
He that instructs a foole, may act th'unwise.[12]

It is known more then enough, that I[2] am neither Nigard, nor Cinick, to the due bravery of the true Gentry: if any man

1. The paragraph here is not separated in the 3d edition. The triple line capital S is found only in the 4th edition, the others having an ordinary capital.
2. J for I in the 1st edition.
3. keep in 1st and 2d edition.
4. meete in 1st edition.
5. Grammar in 1st edition.
6. bee in 1st and 3d editions.
7. tongue in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. Epistles of Horace 1:8:17. Ward has prohibet for vetat.
9. beteame in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. Hee in 2d edition.
11. Semi-colon in 1st and 2d editions.
12. The 3d edition does not set off theverse or quotation by double spaces.

mislikes a bullymong drossock[1] more then I[2], let him take her for his labour:[3] I[2] honour the woman that can honour her selfe[4] with her attire: a good Text alwayes deserves a fair Margent;[5] I[2] am not much offended, if I[2] see a trimme, far trimmer than she that weares[6] it: in a word, whatever Christianity or Civility will allow, I[2] can afford with London measure: but when I[2] heare a nugiperous Gentledame inquire what dresse the Queen is in this week: what the nudiustertian fashion of the Court;[7] with egge to be[8] in it in all haste,[9] whatever it be; I[2] look[10] at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of Nothing,[11] fitter to be kickt, if shee[12] were of kickable substance, than either honour'd[13] or humour'd.[14]

To speak moderately, I[2] truly confesse[15] it is beyond the ken[16] of my understanding to conceive, how those women should have any true grace, or valuable vertue, that have so little wit, as to disfigure themselves with such exotick garbes, as not only

1. bully mong in 1st and 2d editions. drassock in 1st edition.
2. J for I in the 1st edition.
3. 1st and 2d editions read: for all mee.
4. self in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. wears in 1st and 2d editions.
7. 1st and 2d editions insert here: I mean the very newest (meane in 2d edition).
8. bee in 3d edition.
9. hast in 2d edition.
10. looke in 3d edition.
11. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
12. she in 1st edition.
13. honoured in 1st and 2d editions.
14. humoured in 1st and 3d editions.
15. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
16. kin in 2d edition.

dismantles their native lovely lustre, but transclouts them into gant[1]-bar-geese, ill-shapen[2]-shotten[2] shell-fish, Egyptian Hyeroglyphicks,[3] or at the best into French flurts of the pastery, which a proper English woman[4] should scorne[5] with her heels:[6] it is no marvell they weare drailes on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it seems in the fore-part, but a few Squirrils brains[7] to help them frisk from one ill-favour'd fashion to another.

These whimm'd Crown'd shees, these fashion-fansying wits,
Are empty thin brain'd shells, and fidling Kits.[8]

The very troublers and impoverishers[9] of mankind,[10] I[11] can hardly forbeare[12] to commend to the world a saying of a Lady living sometime with the Queen of Bohemia,[13] I[11] know not where shee[14] found it, but it is a pitty it should be lost.

The world is full of care, much like unto a bubble;
Women and care, and care and women, and women and
(care and trouble.[15]

1. No hyphen in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. No hyphen in 1st edition.
3. Hieroglyphicks in 1st edition.
4. English-woman in 1st edition.
5. scorn in 1st edition.
6. heeles in 1st and 2d editions.
7. Squirrills braines in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Comma in 1st and 2d editions. The 3d edition does not set the verse off with double spaces.
9. impovirishes in 2d edition.
10. Period in 1st edition.
11. J for I in 1st edition.
12. forbear in 2d and 3d editions.
13. Bohemiah in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
14. she in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
15. This verse is not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d or 3d editions.

The Verses are even enough for such odde pegma's[1] I[2] can make my selfe sicke[3] at any time, with comparing the dazling[4] splender wherewith[5] our Gentle-woman were imbellished[6] in some former habits, with the gut-foundred goosdom,[7] wherewith they are now surcingled and debauched. Wee[8] have about five or six of them in our Colony: if I[2] see any of them accidentally, I[2] cannot cleanse my phansie of them for a moneth after. I have been a solitary widdower almost twelve yeares,[9] purposed lately to make a step over to my Native Country for a yoke-fellow: but when I[2] consider how women there have tripe-wifed[10] themselves with their cladments, I[2] have no heart to the voyage, least[11] their nauseous shapes and the Sea, should work too sorely upon my stomach. I[2] speak sadly; me thinkes[12] it should breake the hearts of English-men, to see so many goodly English-women imprisoned in French Cages, peering out of their hood-holes for some men of mercy to help them with a little wit, and no body relieves[13] them.

It is a more common then convenient saying, that nine Taylors[14] make a man: it were well if nineteene could make a woman

1. Period in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. J for I in 1st edition.
3. sick in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. dazzeling in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. wherwith in 2d and 3d editions.
6. embellished in 1st and 2d editions.
7. goosdome in 1st edition.
8. We in 1st and 2d editions.
9. years in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. tripe-wifted in 2d edition.
11. lest in 3d and 4th editions.
12. thinks in 1st edition.
13. releives in 3d edition.

to her minde:[1] if Taylors were men indeed, well furnished but with meer[2] morall principles, they would disdain to be led about like Apes, by such mymick Marmosets. It is a most unworthy thing, for men that have bones in them, to spend their lives in making fidle-cases for futulous[3] womens phansies; which are thev ery pettitoes of Infirmity,[4] the giblets[5] of perquisquilian toyes. I[6] am so charitable to think,[7] that most of that mystery[8] would worke[9] the cheerfuller while they live, if they might bee[10] well discharged of the tyring slavery of mis-tyring women: it is no little labour to be continually putting up English-women into Out-landish caskes; who if they be not shifted anew, once in a few months,[11] grow too sowre for their Husbands. What this Trade will answer for themselves when God shall take measure of Taylors consciences is beyond my skill to imagine. There was a time when

> The joyning of the Red-Rose with the White,
> Did set our State into a Damask plight.[12]

But now our Roses are turned to Flore de lices, our Carnations to Tulips, our Gilliflowers to Dayzes,[13] our City-Dames,

1. mind in 2d edition.
2. meere in 1st edition.
3. futilous in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. gyblets in 1st and 3d, gyblits in 2d edition.
6. J for I in 1st edition.
7. thinke in 3d edition.
8. mistery in 2d edition.
9. work in 1st and 2d editions.
10. be in 1st and 2d editions.
11. moneths in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
12. The verse is not set off by double spaces in 1st and 2d editions.
13. pansies in 1st and 2d editions.

to an indenominable Quaemalry of overturcas'd things. Hee that makes Coates for the Moone, had need to take measure every noone: and he that makes for women, as often,[1] to keepe[2] them from Lunacy.

I[3] have often heard divers[4] Ladies vent loud feminine complaints of the wearisome varieties and chargable changes of fashions: I[3] marvell themselves preferre not a Bill of redresse. I[3] would Essex Ladies would lead the Chore, for the honour of their County and persons; or rather the thrice honorable Ladies of the Court, whom it best beseemes:[5] who may wel presume of a Le Roy le veult from our sober King, a Les Seigneurs ont assentus[6] from our prudent Peers, and the like Assentus, from our considerate, I[3] dare not wife-worne Commons: who I beleeve had much rather passe one such Bill, than pay so many Taylors Bills[7] as they are forced to doe.

All the Counties and shires of England have had wars in them since the Conquest, but Essex, which is onely free, and should be thankfull.

Most deare and unparallel'd Ladies,[8] be pleased to attempt it: as you have precellency of the women of the world for beauty and feature; so assume the honour to give, and not take Law from any, in matter of attire: if ye can transact so faire a motion among your selves unanimously,

1. 1st and 2d editions read: every Moone, for: as often.
2. keep in 1st edition.
3. J for I in 1st edition.
4. diverse in 1st edition.
5. beseems in 2d and 3d editions.
6. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Bils in 2d and 3d editions.
8. Ladyes in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

I[1] dare say, they that most renite, will least repent. What greater honour can your Honors desire, then to build a Promontory president to all foraigne Ladies, to deserve so eminently at the hands of all the English Gentry present and to come: and to confute the opinion of the wise men in the world; who never thought it possible for women to doe so good a work?

If any man think I have spoken rather merrily than seriously he is much mistaken, I have written what I write with all the indignation I can, and no more then I ought. I confesse I veer'd my tongue to this kinde of Language de industria though unwillingly, supposing those I speak to are uncapable of grave and rationall arguments.[2]

I desire all Ladies and Gentlewomen to understand that all this while I intend not such as through necessary modesty to avoyd morose singularity, follow fashions slowly, a flight shot or two off, shewing by their moderation, that they rather draw countermont with their hearts, then put on by their examples.

I point my pen only against the light-heel'd beagles that lead the chase so fast, that they run all civility out of breath, against these Ape-headed pullets, which invent Antique foole-fangles, meerly for fashion and novelty sake.

In a word, if I begin once to declaime against fashions, let men and women look well about them, there is somewhat in the

1. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
2. This paragraph was added in the 3d edition.

businesse; I confesse to the world, I never had grace enought o be strict in that kind; and of late years, I have found syrrope of pride very wholesom in due Dos,which makes mee keep such store of that drugge by me, that if any body comes to me for a question-full or two about fashions, they never complain of me for giving them hard measure, or under-weight.[1]

But[2] I[3] addresse my self[4] to those who can both hear[5] and[6] mend all if they please: I[3] seriously fear,[7] if the pious Parliament doe not finde a time to state fashions, as ancient Parliaments have done in part,[8] God will hardly finde a time to state Religion or Peace: They are the surquedryes of pride, the wantonnesse of idlenesse, provoking sins, the certain prodromies of assured judgement, Zeph. 1.7,8.

It is beyond all account, how many Gentlemens and Citizens estates are deplumed by their feather-headed wifes,[9] what usefull supplies the pannage of England would afford other Countries, what rich returnes to it selfe, if it were not slic'd out into male and female fripperies: and what a multitude of mis-imploy'd[10] hands, might be better improv'd in some more manly Manufactures for the publique weale: it is not easily credible,

1. The three preceeding paragraphs were added in the 4th edition.
2. This word was added in the 3d edition.
3. J for I in 2d edition.
4. selfe in 2d edition.
5. heare in 1st edition.
6. & in 3d edition.
7. feare in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. some part in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. wives in 1st and 2d editions.
10. mis-employ'd in 1st and 2d editions.

what may be said of the preterpluralities of Taylors in London: I[1] have heard an honest man say, that not long since there were numbered between Temple-barre and Charing-Crosse,[2] eight thousand of that Trade; let it be conjectured by that proportion how many there are in and about London, and in all England, they will appeare to be very numerous. If the Parliament would please to mend women, which their Husbands dare not doe, there need not so many men to make and mend[3] as there are. I hope the present dolefull estate of the Realme, will perswade more strongly to some considerate course herein, than I now can.

Knew I how to bring it in, I would speake[4] a word to long haire, whereof I will say no more but this: if God proves not such a Barbor to it as he threatens, unlesse it be amended, Esa.7.20. before the Peace of the State and Church be well setled, then let my prophesie[5] be scorned, as a sound minde scornes the ryot of that sin, and more it needs not. If those who are tearmed Rattle-heads and Impuritans,[6] would take up a Resolution to begin in moderation of haire, to the just reproach of those that are called Puritans and Round-heads, I would honour their manlinesse, as much as the others godlinesse, so long as I[1] knew what man or

1. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
2. Charingcrosse in 1st, Charing-crosse in 2d and 3d editions.
3. 'mend in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. speak in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. prophecy in 1st and 2d editions. 3d edition has prophesie in catchword at bottom of the page -phecy at top of the following page.
6. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

honour meant: if neither can finde[1] a Barbours shop, let them turne in, to Psal. 68.21. Jer. 7.29. 1 Cor. 11.14. if it be thought no wisdome in men to distinguish themselves in the field by the Scissers, let it bee[2] thought no Injustice[3] in God, not to distinguish them by the Sword. I[4] had rather God should know me by my sobriety, than mine enemy not know me by my vanity. He is ill kept, that is kept by his owne[5] sin. A short promise,[6] is a farre safer guard than a long lock: it is an ill distinction which God is loth to looke[7] at,[8] and his Angels cannot know his Saints by. Though it be not the mark of the Beast, yet it may be the mark of a beast prepared to slaughter. I am sure men use not to weare such manes; I am also sure Souldiers use to weare other marklets or notadoes in time of battell.

[9]HAving done with the upper part of my work,[10] I would now with all humble willingnesse set on the best peece of Soule-leather I have, did I not fear[11] I should break my All, which though it may be a right old English blade, yet it is but little and weake. I should esteem[12] it the best piece of workmanship my

1. find in 1st edition.
2. be in 1st,2d and 3d editions.
3. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
4. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
5. own in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. Capitalized in 1st edition.
7. look in 1st edition.
8. No comma in 2d and 3d editions.
9. 1st edition has ordinary capital H, and makes no special division between paragraphs here.
10. work in 1st edition.
11. feare in 1st edition.
12. esteeme in 1st edition.

Cobling hand ever wrought, if it would please Him[1] whose worke it is, to direct me to speake such a word over the Sea, as the good old woman of Abel did over the wall, in the like exigent: but alas, I am but simple. What if I be?

[2] When States dishelv'd are, and Lawes[3] untwist,
Wise men[4] keep their tongues, fools[5] speak what they list.

I would not be so unwise as to grieve the wise, if I were wise enough to foresee it: I would speake nothing to the Cause or Continuance of these wearisome Warres hitherto; the one is enough debated, the other more than enough peracted. Nor would I declaime of the uncomlinesse,[6] unbrotherlinesse, unseasonablenesse and unreasonablenesse of these direfull digladiations: every stroak[7] struck[8] sounds too[9] loud upon this harsh string. I would much rather speake perswasives to a comely brotherly seasonable and reasonable cessation of Armes on both sides, by a drawn[10] battaile:[11] Wherein if I shall adventure a few over-bold[12] words, I intreat my ignorance, impartiality, and Loyalty may plead pardon for me.

1. Not Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. Not double spaced in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Wise-men in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. fooles in 1st edition.
6. uncomelinesse in 1st, 2 d and 3d editions.
7. stroke in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. struke in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. to in 1st edition.
10. drawne in 1st edition.
11. battell in 1st, 2d and 3d editions. Period in 2d.
12. overbold in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

Foure meanes there are, and no more, within the compasse of my consideration, conducing to what is desired. Either to get the Standard fixed in heaven by the Lord of Hosts taken downe, I meane by Reformation: Or to set up white colours instead of red,[1] on one side or other, I meane by Composition: Or by furling up all the Ensignes on both sides, I meane by mutuall and generall Cessation: Or by still displaying all the Colours and Cornets of every batallion, I mean[2] by prosecution:[3] without Reformation there of Cessation; without Cessation there must and will be[4] Prosecution; which God forbid.

[5]
Reformation.

[6]WHen the Roman Standard was defixed with such difficulty at the battaile[7] between[8] Hannibal and Flaminius at Thrasimene, it proved an ill Omen. When God gives quietnesse, who can make trouble; when he hideth his face, who can behold him? Whether[9] it be against a Nation[10] or a man onely. That the Hypocrite reign not, lest the people be insnared,[11] Job 34.29,30.[12] How can the

1. Marginal note in 1st edition reading: Victrix cause Diis placuit, sed Victa Catoni. Lucan.
2. meane in 1st edition.
3. Capitalized in 1st edition.
4. bee in 1st edition.
5. Not preceeded by double space in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Ordinary capital in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. battell in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. betweene in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
10. Not capitalized in 2d edition.
11. Quotation not italicized in 1st and 2d editions.
12. Period in 2d and 3d editions.

sword[1] of the Lord put it selfe up into its scabbard and be quiet, when himself[2] hath given it a charge to the contrary? Jer. 47.6,7. It was a Cardinall Truth which Cardinall Poole spake to H.8. Penes Reges est inferre bellum, penes autem Deum terminare. If Kings will make their beginnings, God will make his ends: much more when himselfe begins: When[3] I begin, I will also make an end, 1 Sam. 3.12. Farre better were it, for men to make an end with him in time, than put him to make such an end with them as he there intends.

Politicall Reformation he seemes to call for now indigitanter. When he beholds Christian Kingdomes and States unsound in their foundations, illineal in their superstructures, unjust in their administrations; he kicks them in peeces with the foot of his Indignation: But when Religious Statesmen frame and build by the levell and plummet of his wisdome, then people may say as his servants of old, Looke upon Zion the City of our Solemnities; Your[4] eyes shall see it a quiet habitation, a Tabernacle that shall not be taken down;[5] not one of the stakes thereof[6] shall be removed, neither shall any of the coards thereof[6] bee[7] broken, Isa. 33.20.[8] neither by civill Commotions[9] nor

1. Capitalized in 1st edition.
2. himselfe in 1st,2d and 3d editions.
3. Not capitalized in 1st,2d and 3d editions. The quotation is not italicized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. Not capitalized in 1st edition. The quotation is not italicized in 1st and 2d editions.
5. downe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. therof in 2d edition.
7. be in 1st and 2d editions.
8. The reference is, in 1st and 2d editions, placed after Invasions in the following line.
9. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

foreign[1] Invasions.[2] When the coards of a State are exquisitely[3] tight, and the stakes firmely pitched; such a Tent[4] though but a Tent[4] shall not easily flutter or fall: But if the Tacklings[5] be so loose, that the maine Mast[6] cannot stand steady, nor the Saile[7] be[8] well spread; then may the lame take and[9] devide[10] a great prey,[11] ver. 23. If Religion, Laws,[12] Liberties,[13] and foraigne[14] Federacies[15] be slight?[16] the strength of strong men shall be weaknesse, and the weaknesse of the weak[17] victorious.

Pura politeja ne unum admittit soloecismulum,[18] neque valet, proescriptio in politicis aut moralibus. It may maintain[19] a bright conjecture, against a rusty Truth:[20] a legible possession, against an obliterate Claime: an inconvenience, against a convenience; where no cleare remedy may be had: but never anything that is formally sinfull, or materially mischievous. When rotten

1. forreigne in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. exquisitly in 1st edition.
4. Comma in 1st edition.
5. Taklings in 2d, the passage is not italicized in 1st and 2d editions
6. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
7. Not capitalized in 2d and 3d editions.
8. bee in 2d edition.
9. 1st and 2d editions omit: take and.
10. divideIn 1st and 2d editions.
11. spoyle in 1st edition. spoile in 2d edition.
12. Lawes in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. 1st, 2d and 3d editions insert here: Affections, Conversations.
14. forreigne in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
15. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
16. Semi-colon in 1st edition.
17. weake in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
18. soloecismum in 1st and 2d editions.
19. maintaine in 1st edition.
20. Not capitalized in 1st edition.

States are soundly mended from head to foot, proportions duly admeasured, Justice justly dispenced; then shall Rulers and Subjects have peace with God and themselves: but till then, the gayest Kingdomes shall be but ruffling scuffling, removing and commoving hovells. For England, however the upper Stories are shroadly shattered; yet the foundations and frame being good or mendable by the Architectors now at worke, there is good hope, when peace is settled, people shall dwell more wind-tight and water-tight than formerly, I earnestly wish our Mr. Builders to remember, that punctuality[1] in Divinity and[2] Politie, is but regularity; that what is amisse in the mould, will misfashion the prosult: and that if this market be slipt, things may grow as deare as ever they were. Most expert Gentlemen, bee intreated at length to set our Head[3] right on our Shoulders,[3] that we may once look[4] upwards and goe forwards like proper Englishmen.

[5]God will also have Ecclesiasticall Reformation now, or nothing: And here he stands not upon Kings, Parliaments or Assemblies, but upon his own[6] Termes. I feare Hee[7] will have all drosse and base mettalls throughly melted away by these[8] combustions, be-

1. punctuallity in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. & in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
4. looke in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Not separated by double space from preceding paragraph in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. owne in 1st edition.
7. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. those in 1st edition.

fore Hee[1] quenches them; all his Ordinances and vessels cast into his own[2] fashion, in his own[2] mould, to his own[2] amussim before he restores peace.[3] If this first worke bee throughly and throughoutly dispatched as I hope it is, the great Remora[4] is removed. If the Parliament and Assembly be pleased to be as curious and industrious as I have seen[5] a great Popish Bishop in execrating[6] a Protestant Par.[7] Church one day, and consecrating it the next; they may adjourn a while with leave enough,[8]

Some ten or twelve years before these Wars there came to my view these two Predictions.

1. When God shall purge this Land with soap and nitre,
   Woe be to the Crowne, woe be to the Mitre.[9]

The Accent[10] of the blow shall fall there.
He that pities not the Crowne, pities not his own[2] soule. Hee that pities not those that wore the Mitre, more than they pitied themselves, or the Churches over which they insulted, or the State then corrupted and now Corruined[11] by their pride and negligence, is to blame.

1. he in 1st edition not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. owne in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. 1st, 2d and 3d editions. insert here: There was not a stone left upon a stone of the old Temple, before the new was erected.
4. Not italicized in 1st and 2d editions.
5. seene in 1st edition.
6. excrating in 2d edition.
7. Parish in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Period in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. Neither this nor the following verses were separated by doubl spacing in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. corrayned in 1st edition.

2. There is a set of Bishops comming next behind,
Will ride the Devill[1] off his legs, and break his wind.

Poore men! they might have kept his back[2] till this time for ought I know, had they not put him beyond his pace: but Schollers must gallop, though they tumble for it. Yet I commend them for this, they gave him such straynes as made[3] him blow short ever since. I doubt the Assembly troubles him; and I[4] doubt he troubles them. Well, the Bishops are gone: If[4] they have carried away with them all that was in the pockets of their Holliday[5] hose, farre[6] them well; let them come againe when I[4] give them a new Conge d' stier, or send a pursuivant[7] for them; which if I[4] doe[8], I[4] shall never trust my selfe more, though they have often done it for me, who never deserved that honour. Some of them I[4] confesse were very[9] honest men, and would have been[10] honester if they dared for their fellows.

The sad worke now is to intitute better things in their Roome,[11] and to induct better men in their roome; rather where[12]

1. divell in 1st edition. devill in 2d and 3d editions.
2. backe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. make in 1st and 2d editions.
4. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
5. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. fare in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. do in 1st edition.
9. omitted in 1st and 2d editions.
10. beene in 1st edition.
11. Rome in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
12. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.

and how to finde those things, they having cunningly laid them so farre out of the way; I[1] doubt some good men cannot see them, when they look full upon them: it is like, the Bishops carryed away their eyes with them, but I feare they left their Spectacles behind[2] them. I use no spectacles, yet my eyes are not fine enough, nor my hand steady enough to cut by such fine threads[3] as are now spun. I am I know not what: J[4] cannot tell what to make of my selfe,[5] nor I think no body else: My Trade is to finde more faults than others will mend; I am very diligent at it; yet it scarse findes me a living, though the Country finds[6] me[7] more worke than I can turne my hand to.

For Church worke,[8] I am neither Presbyterian, nor plebsbyterian, but an Interpendent: My task is to sit and study how shapeable the Independent way will be to the body of England, then my head akes on one side; and how suitable the Presbyterian way, as we heare it propounded, will be[9] to the minde of Christ, then my head akes on the other side: but when I consider how the Parliament will commoderate a way out of both, then my head leaves aking.[10] I[11] am not, without some contrivalls in my patching braines;

1. J for I in 2d and 3d editions.
2. behinde in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. thred in 1st edition. thread in 2d edition.
4. I in 1st, 2d and 3d edition.
5. self in 1st edition.
6. findes in 1st and 2d editions.
7. For the following words the 1st, 2d and 3d editions read: good store of worke (work in 1st edition).
8. Church-work in 1st edition.
9. bee in 2d and 3d editions.
10. Colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. Italicized in 1st edition.

but I had rather suppose them to powder, than expose them to preregular, much lesse to preter-regular Judgements:[1] I shall therefore rejoyce that the worke[2] is faln into so good hands, heads, and hearts, who will weigh Rules by Troyweight,[3] and not by the old Haber-du-pois: and rather then meddle where I[4] have so little skill, I will sit by and tell my feares[5] to them that have the patience to heare them, and leave the red-hot question to them that dare handle it.

I fear many hold men have not so deeply humbled themselves for their former mis-worshippings of God as hee[6] will have them before he[7] reveales his secrets to them: as they accounted things indifferent, so they account indifferent repentance will serve turne. Sonne[8] of man, if my people be ashamed of all that they have done, then shew them the forme of the house, and the fashion thereof, else not,[9] Ezek. 43.11. A sin in Gods worship; that seemes small in the common beame[10] of the world, may be very great in the scoales[11] of his Sanctuary. Where God is very jealous, his servants should be very cautelous.

1. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. work in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Troy-weight in 1st edition.
4. Italicized in 2d edition.
5. fears in 1st edition.
6. he in 1st edition.
7. hee in 2d and 3d editions.
8. Son in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. else not in 1st and 2d editions.
10. beam in 1st and 2d editions.
11. scales in 1st and 2d editions.

I feare[1] the furnace wherein our new forms[2] are casting, is over-heat, and casts smoake[3] in the eyes of our founders, that they cannot well see what they doe, or ought to doe; omne[4] perit judicium cum res transit in affectum. Truth and Peace[5] are the Castor and Pollux of the Gospell:[6] they that seeke[7] the one without the other, are like to finde neither: Anger will hinder domestick Prayers, much more Ecclesiastique Counsels.[8] What is produced by tumult, is either difficient[9] or redundant. When the judgements of good men concurre with an harmonious Diapason, the result is melodious and commodious. Warring and jarring men are no[10] builders of houses for God, though otherwise very good. Instruments may be well made and well strung, but if they be[11] not well fretted, the Musique is marred. The great Turke[12] hearing Musitians so long a tuning, he though it stood not with his state to wait for what would follow. When[13] Christ whips Market-makers out of his Temple, he raises dust: but when he[14] enters in with Truth and Holinesse,

1. fear, in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. formes in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. smoak in 1st , 2d and 3d editions.
4. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. Gospel in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. seek in 1st edition.
8. Councels in 1st and 2d editions.
9. deficient in 1st edition.
10. 1st edition inserts: fit.
11. bee in 2d and 3d editions.
12. Turk in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. W in 1st and 3d editions.
14. hee in 2d edition.

he calls for deep silence, Hab. 2.20. There must not a toole b e heard when the Tabernacle is reared: nor is that amiable or serviceable to men that passeth through so many ill animadversions of Auditors and Spectators,[1] If the Assembly can hardly agree what to determine, people will not easily agree what to accept.

I[2] fear, these differences and delayes have occasioned men to make more new discoveries[3] then otherwise they would. If publique Assemblies of Divines cannot agree upon a right way, private Conventicles of illiterate[4] men;[5] will soone[6] finde a wrong. Bivious demurres breed devious resolutions. Passengers to heaven are in hast, and will walk one way or other. He that doubts of his way, thinks[7] hee[8] loses his day: and when men are gone a while, they will be loth to turn back. If God hide his path, Satan is at hand to turne[9] Convoy: if any have a minde[10] to ride poste, he[11] will helpe them with a fresh spavin'd Opinion at e very Stage.

Where clocks will stand, and Dials have no light,
There men must go[12] by guesse, be't wrong or right.

1. Period in 1st edition.
2. J for I in 1st edition.
3. Comma in 1st edition.
4. illeterate in 2d edition.
5. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. soon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. thinkes in 2d and 3d editions.
8. he in 1st edition.
9. turn in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. mind in 3d edition.
11. hee in 2d edition.
12. goe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions. The verses are not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

I[1] feare, if the Assembly of all Divines, do[2] not consent, and concenter the sooner, God will breath[3] a spirit of wisedome and meeknesse, into the Parliament of no Divines, to whom the Imperative and Coactive power supremely belongs, to consult such a contemperate[4] way, as shall best please him, and profit his Churches,[5] so that it shall be written upon the doore of the Assembly: The Lord was not there.

I[1] feare[6] the importunity of some impatient, and subtlety of some malevolent mindes, will put both Parliament and Assembly upon some preproperations that will not be[7] safe in Ecclesiasticall Constitutions. To procrastinate in matters cleare,[8] as[9] I[10] said even now, may be dangerous; so, not to delibrate in dubious cases, will be as perilous.[11] We here, though I[1] think under favor, wee have some as able Steersmen[12] as England affords, have been driven to tack aboutagain to some other points of Christs Compasse, and to make better observations before we hoyse up sayles.[13] It will be found great wisdom[14] in disputable cases, not to walk on by twylight,

1. J for I in 1st edition.
2. doe in 2d and 3d editions.
3. breathe in 1st edition.
4. commoderate in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Colon in 1st, no punctuation in 3d edition.
6. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
7. bee in 1st and 2d editions.
8. clear in 1st and 2d editions.
9. This word is omitted in the 2d edition.
10. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
11. perillous in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
12. Steeresmen in 1st edition.
13. sailes in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
14. wisdome in 1st and 2d editions.

but very cauteously[1]: rather by probationers for a time, then peremptory positives. Reelings and wheelings in Church acts, are both difficult and disadvantageous. It is rather Christian modesty than shame, in the dawning of Reformation, to be very perpensive. Christs minde[2] is, that Evangelicall policies, should be framed by Angelicall measures; not by a line of flaxe, but by a golded[3] Reed, Rev.[4] 21.15.

I[5] feare, he that sayes the Presbyterian and Independent way, if rightly carryed doe not meet in one, he doth not handle his Compasses so considerately as he should.

I[5] feare[6] if Authority doth not establish a sutable[7] and peaceable Government of Churches the sooner, the bells in all the steeples will ring awke so long, that they will hardly be brought into tune any more.

My last, but not least feare, is, That God will hardly replant his Gospel in any part of Christendome, in so faire an Edition as is expected, till the whole field hath been so ploughed and harrowed, that the soile be throughly cleansed and fitted for new seed: Or whether he will not transplant it into some other Regions, I[5] know not: This feare I[5] have feared these 20 years, but

1. cautelously in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. mind in 2d and 3d editions.
3. golden in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. Revel.in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. J for I in the 1st edition.
6. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. suteable in 1st and 2d editions.

upon what grounds I[1] had rather bury than broach.

I dare not but adde to what preceded about Church-reformation,[2] a most humble petition,[3] that the Authority of the Ministery[4] be kept in due altitude: if it be dropp'd in the dust, it will soon[5] bee stifled: Encroachments on both sides, have bred detriments enough to the whole. The Separatists are content their teaching Elders should sit highest on the Bench, so they may sit in the Chaire over-against[6] them; and that their Ruling[7] Elders shall ride on the saddle, so they may hold the bridle. That they may likewise have seasonable and honourable maintenance, and that certainly stated: which generally we find and practise here as the best way. When Elders live upon peoples good wills, people care little for their ill wills, be they never so just.[8] Voluntary Contributions[9] or non tributions[10] of Members, put Ministers upon many temptations in administrations of their Offices,[11] two houres care does[12] more dis spirit[13] an ingenuous man than two dayes study: nor can an Elder be[14] given to hospitality, when he knowes not what will be

1. J for I in the 1st edition.
2. Church-Reformation in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Ministry in 2d and 3d editions.
5. soone in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. No hyphen in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. Colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. non-tributions in 1st, 2 d and 3d editions.
11. Office in 1st and 2d editions. Colon in 1st and 2d editions.
12. doe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. dis-spirit in 1st and 2d editions.
14. bee in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

given him to defray it: it is pity men of gifts[1] should live upon mens gifts. I have seen[2] most of the Reformed Churches in Europ, and seene more misery in these two respects, then it is meet others should hear:[3] the complaints of painfull Pareus, David Pareus, to my selfe, with tears, concerning the Germane Churches[4] are not to be related.

There is yet a personall Reformation, as requisite as the politicall. When States are so reformed, that they conforme such as are profligate, into good civility: civill men, into religious morality: When Churches are so constituted, that Faith is ordained Pastour,[5] Truth Teacher, Holinesse and Righteousnesse[6] ruling Elders:[7] Wisdome and Charity Deacons: Knowledge, love, hope, zeale, heavenly-mindednesse,[8] meeknesse, patience, watchfulnesse,[9] humility, diligence, sobriety, modesty, chastity, constancy, prudence, contentation, innocency, sincerity, &c.[10] admitted members, and all their opposites excluded: then there will bee peace of Country and Conscience.

Did the servants of Christ know what it is to live in Reformed Churches with unreformed spirits, under strict order with

1. Comma in 1st,2d and 3d editions.
2. seene in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. heare in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Pastor in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Righteosnesse in 2d edition.
7. ruling-Elders in 1st and 2d editions.
8. No hyphen in 1st, 2 d and 3d editions.
9. watchfullnesse in 2d edition.
10. 1st a nd 2d editions omit: &c.

loose hearts, how formes of Religion breed but formes of Godliness, how men by Church-discipline, learne their Church-postures,[1] and there rest; they would pray as hard for purity of heart, as purity of Ordinances. If wee[2] mocke God in these, He[3] will mocke us;[4] either with defeat of our hopes;[5] or which is worse: when wee[2] have what we so much desire, wee[6] shall be so much the worse for it. It was a well salted speech, uttered by an English Christian of a Reformed Church in the Netherlands, Wee[7] have the good Orders here, but you have the good Christians in England. Hee[8] that prizes[9] not Old England Graces, as much as New England Ordinances,[10] had need goe to some other market before hee comes hither. In a word, hee that is not Pastour,[11] Teacher, Ruler, Deacon and Brother to himselfe, and lookes not at Christ above all, it matters not a farthing whether he be Presbyteran[12] or Independent: he may be a zelot in bearing witnesse to which he likes best, and yet an Iscariot to both, in the witnesse of his owne Conscience.

I have upon strict observation, seen so much power of Godlinesse,[13] and spirituall mindednesse in English Christians,

1. No hyphen in 1st edition.
2. we in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. he in 1st, 2 d and 3d editions.
4. Comma in 1st edition.
5. Comma in 1st and 3d editions.
6. we in 1st edition.
7. we in 1st and 3d editions.
8. He in 1st and 2d editions.
9. prices in 2d edition.
10. Semi-colon in 2d edition.
11. Pastor in 1st and 2d editions.
12. Presbyterian in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.

living meerly upon Sermons and private duties, hardly come by, when the Gospell was little more than[1] symptomaticall[2] to the State; such Epidemicall and lethall formality in other disciplinated[3] Churches, that I professe in the hearing of God, my heart hath mourned, and mine eyes wept in secret, to consider what will become of multitudes of my dear[4] Country-men when they shall enjoy what they now covet: Not that good Ordinances breed ill Consciences, but ill Consciences grow starke[5] nought[6] under good Ordinances; insomuch that might I wish an hypocrite the most perilous place but Hell,[7] I should wish him a Membership in a strict Reformed Church: and might I wish a sincere[8] Servant of God, the greatest greife[9] earth[10] can afford, I should wish him to live with a pure heart, in a Church impurely Reformed; yet through the improvement of Gods Spirit, that greife[9] may sanctifie him for Gods service and presence, as much as the means[11] he would have, but cannot.

I speak this the rather to prevent, what in me lyes,[12] the imprudent romaging that is like to be in England, from Villages to Townes, from Townes to[13] Cities, for Churches sake, to the undoing

1. then in 1st and 2d editions.
2. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
3. displinated in 1st edition.
4. deare in 1st and 2d editions.
5. stark in 1st and 2d editions.
6. naught in 1st edition.
7. No comma in 2d edition.
8. sinceere in 2d edition.
9. griefe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. capitalized in 1st edition.
11. meanes in 1st and 2d editions.
12. lies in 1st and 2 d editions.
13. or in 2d edition.

of Societies, Friendships, Kindreds, Families,[1] Heritages, Callings, yea, the wise Providence of God in disposing mens habitations, now in the very Infancy of Reformation: by forgetting that a little leaven may season a large lump: and it is much better to doe good than receive. It were a most uncharitable and unserviceable part, for good men to desert their own[2] Congregations, where many may glorifie God in the day of his Visitation, for their presence and assistance. If a Christian would picke out a way to thrive in grace, let him study to administer grace to them that want; or to make sure a blessing upon his Family,[3] let him labour to multiply the Family[4] of Christ, and beleeve, that he which soweth liberally, shall reape[5] abundantly; and he[6] that spareth more than is need, from them that have more need, shall surely come to poverty: yea, let me say, that hee[7] who forsakes the meanes[8] of grace for Christ and his Churches sak',[9] shall meet with a better bargaine, namely, grace it selfe.[10] It is a time now, when full flockes[11] should rather scatter to leane Churches than gather from other places[12]

1. No comma in 2d edition.
2. owne in 2d and 3d editions.
3. Colon in 1st edition. Semi-colon in 2d.
4. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
5. reape in 1st,2d and 3d editions.
6. hee in 2d edition.
7. he in 1st and 2d editions.
8. means in 3d edition.
9. No apostrophe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. self in 1st and 2d editions.
11. flocks in 1st and 2d editions.
12. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.

to make themselves fat; when able Christians should rather turne[1] Jesuites[2] and Seminaries, than run into Covents and Frieries: had this been[3] the course in the Primitive time, the Gospel had been pinfolded up in a few Cities, and not spread as it is.

What more ungodly sacriledge or man-stealing[4] can there be,[5] then to purloin[6] from godly Ministers the first born of their fervent prayers and faithfull preachings, the leven[7] of their flocks, the incouragement of their soules, the Crowne[8] of their labours, their Epistle to Heaven?[9] I am glad to hear[10] our New-England Elders generally detest it dispuenter, and look[11] at it as a killing Cordolium:[12] If men will needs gather Churches out of the world (as they say) let them first plough the world, sow it, and reap it with their own hands, and the Lord give them a liberall Harvest. He is avery hard man that will reap where he hath not sowed, and gathered[13] where he hath not strowed, Mat.[14] 24.25.

He that saith, it is or was our case, doth not rightly understand himself or us,[15] and he that takes his warrant out of

1. turn in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. I for J in 2d edition.
3. beene in 2d edition.
4. manstealing in 1st and 2d editions. man stealing in 3d.
5. No comma in 1st edition.
6. purloyn in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. leaven in 1st edition.
8. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
9. Period in 1st edition.
10. heare in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. looke in 2d edition.
12. Period in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. gather in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
14. Matth. in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
15. for: doth...us, 1st and 2d editions read: wants a case for his understanding.

Joh.[1] 4.37.38. is little acquainted with Expositors. Wisemen[2] are amazed to hear that conscientious Ministers dare spoile many Congregations to make one for themselves.

In matter of Reformation, this would be remembered, that in premonitory judgements, God will take good words, and sincere intents; but in peremptory, nothing but reall performances.

Composition

IF[3] Reformation were come thus neer, I[4] should hope Composition were not farre off: When hearts meet in God, they will soon meet in Gods wayes, and upon Gods termes. But to avoid prolixity, which steales upon me; For Composition, I[4] shall compose halfe[5] a dozen distichs[6] concerning these kind of Wars; wishing I[4] could sing asleep these odious stirs,[7] at least on some part, with a dull Ode. He is no Cobler that cannot sing, nor no good Cobler that can sing well:

Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum — They are
Qualemcunque[8] potest — Juvenal. — these

1. John in 1st and 2d editions.
2. Wise men in 1st edition.
3. Ordinary capital in 1st, 2 d and 3d editions.
4. J for I in 1st edition.
5. half in 1st and 2d editions.
6. disticks in 1st and 2d editions.
7. stirres in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Qualemcumque in 2d edition.

1.

THey seldome lose the field, but often win,
That end their warrs,[1] before their warrs[1] begin.

2.

Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed Victa Catoni.[3] Lucan.

Their Cause is oft[2] the worse, that first begin.
And they may lose the field, the field that win:

3.

In Civill warrs[1] 'twixt Subjects and their King,
There is no conquest got, by conquering.

4

Warre[4] ill begun, the onely way to mend,
Is t'end[5] the warre[6] before the warre[7] doe end.

5

They that well end ill warrs,[8] must have the skill,
To make an end by Rule, and not by Will.

6

In ending warrs[8] 'tween Subjects and their Kings,
Great things are sav'd, by losing little things.

1. wars in 1st and 2d editions.
2. 1st edition reads: often worst; 2d edition reads: of the worst.
3. This marginal note is not found in the 1st edition.
4. War in 1st edition.
5. to end in 1st and 2d editions.
6. War in 1st and 2d editions.
7. war in 1st edition. Warre in 2d edition.
8. wars in 1st edition.

Wee[1] heare[2] that Majestas Imperii hath challenged Salus Populi into the field; the one fighting for Prerogatives, the otherdefending Liberties: Were I[3] a Constable bigge enough, I[3] would set one of them by the heeles[2] to keep both their hands quiet; I[3] mean onely in a paire of stocks,[4] made of sound reason,[4] handsomely fitted for the legges of their Understanding.[5]

If Salus Populi began, surely it was not that Salus Populi I left in England: that Salus Populi was as mannerly a Salus Populi as need bee:[6] if I be[7] not much deceived, that Salus Populi suffer'd its nose to be held to the Grindstone, till it was almost ground to the grisles[8] and yet grew never the sharper[9] for ought I could discerne;[10] What was, before the world was made,[11] I leave to better Antiquaries then my selfe;[12] but I think,[13] since the world began, it was never storied[14] that Salus Populi began with Majestas Imperii, unlesse Majestas Imperii first unharbour'd it, and hunted it to a stand, and then it must either turne[15] head and

1. We in 1st edition.
2. Comma in 1st edition.
3. J for I in 1st edition.
4. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. Plural in 1st edition.
6. be in 1st edition.
7. bee in 2d edition.
8. Semi-colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. sharped in 1st edition.
10. Colon in 1st edition.
11. Semi-colon in 2d and 3d editions.
12. self in 1st and 2d editions.
13. am sure in 1st edition. thinke in 2d edition.
14. storyed in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
15. turn in 1st and 2d editions.

live, or turn taile and die:[1] but more have been storyed on the other hand than Majestas Imperii is willing to heare:[2] I doubt not but Majestas Imperii knows, that Common-wealths costa s much the making as Crownes; and if they be[3] well made, would yet out-sell an ill-fashioned Crown, in any Market overt,[4] if they could be well vouched.[5]

[6] But Preces & Lachrymae, are the peoples weapons: so are Swords and Pistoles,[7] when God and Parliaments bid them Arme. Prayers and Tears[8] are good weapons for them that have nothing but knees and eyes; but most men are made with teeth and nailes; onely they must neither scratch for Liberties, nor bite Prerogatives, till they have wept and prayed as God would have them. If Subjects must fight for their Kings against other Kingdomes, when their Kings will; I[9] know no reason, but they may fight against their Kings for their own Kingdomes, when Parliaments say they may and must: but Parliaments must not say they must, till God sayes they may.

I[9] can never beleeve that Majestas Imperii, was ever so simple as to think, that if it extends it self[10] beyond its due

1. dye in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. hear in 1st and 2d editions.
3. be in 1st edition.
4. 1st and 2d editions insert: even in Smithfield
5. 'vouched in 1st edition.
6. Not paragraphed in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Pistols in 1st,2d and 3d editions.
8. Teares in 1st and 2d editions.
9. J for I in 1st edition.
10. selfe in 2d edition.

Artique at one end, but Salus Populi must Antartique it as farre at the other end, or else the world will be Excentrick,[1] and then it will whirle; and if it once fall[2] a whirling, ten to one, it will whirle them off first, that sit in the highest Chaires[3] on cushions fill'd with Peacocks feathers; and they are like to stand theirground fastest, that owne not one foot of ground to stand upon. When Kings rise higher than they should, they exhale Subjects higher than they would: if the Primum Mobile should ascend one foote[4] higher than it is, it would hurry all the nether wheeles, and the whole world on fire in 24 houres. No Prince exceeds in Soveraignty, but his Subjects will exceed as farre in some vitious Liberty, to abate their griefe; or some pernicious mutiny to abate their Prince.

The crazy[5] world will crack, in all the middle joynts,
If all the ends it hath, have not their parapoynts.[6]

Nor can I[7] beleeve that Crownes trouble Kings heads,[8] so much as Kings heads trouble Crowns:[9] nor that they are flowers[10] of Crowns[11] that trouble Crowns,[11] but rather some Nettles or Thistles mistaken for flowers.

1. Eccentrick in 1st edition.
2. falls in 1st edition.
3. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
4. foot in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. crazie in 1st edition.
6. The verse is not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. J for I in 1st edition.
8. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
9. Crownes in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
11. Crownes in 1st and 2d editions.

To speak[1] plainer English, I[2] have wondred these thirty years[3] what Kings aile: I[2] have seen in my time, the best part of twenty Christian Kings and Princes; Yet as Christian as they were, some or other were still scuffling for Prerogatives. It must be granted at all hands, that Praerogativae Regis are necessary Supporters of State: and stately things to stately Kings: but if withall, they be Derogativae Regno, they are but little things to wise Kings. Equity is as due to People, as Eminency to Princes: Liberty to Subjects, as Royalty to Kings; If they cannot walk[4] together lovingly hand in hand, pari passu, they must cut girdles and part as good friends as they may: Nor must it be[5] taken offensively, that when Kings are haling[6] up their topgallants,[7] Subjects lay hold on their slablines; the head and body must move alike: it is nothing meet for me to say with Horace,

Ut tu fortunam, sic nos te Car'le feremus.[8]

But I[2] hope I may safely say,

The body beares the head, the head the Crown;[9]
If both beare not alike, then one will down.[10]

1. speake in 1st and 2d editions.
2. J for I in 1st edition.
3. yeares in 1st and 2d editions.
4. walke in 2d edition.
5. bee in 2d edition.
6. haleing in 1st edition.
7. singular in 1st and 2d editions.
8. The verse is not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. Crowne in 1st and 2d editions.
10. downe in 1st and 2d editions. Not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

Distracting[1] Nature, calls for distracting Remedies; perturbing policies for disturbing cures: if one Extreame should not constitute its Anti-Extreame, all things would soon[2] be in extremo: if ambitious windes get into Rulers Crownes, rebellious vapours will into Subjects Caps, be[3] they stopt never so close: Yet the tongues of Times tell us ten Preter-royall Usurpations, to one contra-civill Rebellion.

Civill Liberties and proprieties[4] admeasured, to every man to his true suum, are the prima pura principia, propria quarto modo, the sine quibus of humane States, without which, men are but women. Peoples prostrations of these things when they may lawfully helpe it, are prophane prostitutions; ignorant Ideotismes, undernaturall noddaries; and just it is that such as undersell them, should not re-inherit them in haste,[5] though they seek[6] it carefully with teares. And such usurpations by Rulers, are the unnaturalizings of nature, disfranchisements of Freedome, the Neronian nullifyings of Kingdomes: yea, I beleeve the Devill[7] himselfe would turn[8] Round-head, rather then suffer these Columnes of Common-wealths to be[9] slighted: as he[10] is a creature, he[11]

1. Distracted in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. soone in 2d edition.
3. bee in 2d edition.
4. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. hast in 2d and 3d editions.
6. seeke in 1st and 2d editions.
7. divell in 1st edition. Devil in 2d edition.
8. turne in 1st and 2d editions.
9. bee in 1st and 2d editions.
10. hee in 2d edition.
11. hee in 1st and 2d editions.

fears decreation; as an Angell,[1] dehominations; as a Prince, dis-common-wealthings;[2] as finite,[3] these pen-infinite[4] insolencies, which are the most finite Infinites of misery to men on this side the worlds dissolution;[5] therefore it is, that with Gods leave, he hath sounded an alarm[6] to all the susque deques[7] pell-mels,[8] one and alls,[9] now harrasing[10] sundry parts of Christendome. It is enough for God to be Infinite, too much for man to be[11] Indefinite. He that will flye too high a quarry for Absolutenesse, shall stoope as much too low before he[12] remounts his proper pitch: If Jacob will over-top[13] his Brother[14] out of Gods time and way, we[15] will so hamstring him, that he[12] shall make legs whether he will or no, at his brothers approach: and such as over-run all humane measure, shall[16] seldom[17] return[18] to humane mercy: There are sins[19] besides the sin[20] against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be[11] expiated by

1. Angel in 2d and 3d editions.
2. dis-commonwealthings in 1st edition.
3. No comma in 1st edition.
4. pene-infinite in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Comma in 2d edition.
8. pell-mells in 1st edition.
9. als in 2d edition.
10. harrassing in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. bee in 2d edition.
12. hee in 1st and 2d editions.
13. overtop in 1st and 2d editions.
14. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
15. hee in 1st and 2d editions. he in 3d edition.
16. shal in 1st edition.
17. seldome in 1st and 2d editions.
18. returne in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
19. sinnes in 1st and 2d editions.
20. sinne in 1st and 2d editions.

sacrifice for temporall revenge: I[1] mean[2] when they are boyled up to a full consistence of contumacy and impenitency. Let absolute Demands[3] or Commands[4] be put into one scale, and indefinite refusalls into the other: All[3] the Goldsmiths in Cheapeside, cannot tell which weighs heaviest. Intolerable griefes to Subjects, breed the Iliaca passio in a body politick[5] which inforces that upwards which should not. I speak[6] these things to excuse, what I may, my countrymen in the hearts of all that look[7] upon their proceedings.

There is a quadrobulary saying, which passes current in the Western World,[3] That the Emperour is King of Kings, the Spaniard,[8] King of Men, the French[9] King of Asses, the King of England, King of Devils.[10] By his leave that first brayed the speech, they are pretty wise Devils[11] and pretty honest; the worse[12] they doe, is to keep[13] their Kings from devillizing,[14] &[15] them selves from Assing: Were I a King (a simple supposall) I would not part with one good English Devil,[16] for some two of the Emperours Kings, nor

1. J for I in 2d edition.
2. meane in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Comma in 1st edition.
5. politicke in 1st and 2d editions.
6. speake in 1st and 2d editions.
7. looke in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Not italicized in 1st and 2d editions.
9. Not italicized in 1st and 2d editions. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. Devills in 1st and 2d editions. Colon in 1st edition.
11. Devills in 1st and 2d editions.
12. worst in 1st edition.
13. keepe in 2d edition.
14. Divelizing in 1st edition. Devilizing in 2d edition.
15. and in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
16. Divell in 1st edition. Devill in 2d edition.

three of the Spaniards[1] Men, nor foure French[2] Asses; If I did, I[3] should think[4] my selfe[5] an Asse for my labour. I[3] know nothing that Englishmen[2] want, but true Grace, and honest pride; let them be well furnisht with those two, I[6] feare they would make more Asses, then Spaine can make men, or the Emperour Kings. You will say I[6] am now beyond my latchet; but you would not say so, if you knew how high my latchet will stretch; when I[6] heare a lye with a latchet, that reaches up to his throat that first forged it.

He is a good King that undoes[7] not his Subjects by any one of his unlimited Prerogatives: and they are a good people, that undoe not their Prince, by any one of their unbounded Liberties, be they the very least. I[6] am sure either may, and I[6] am sure neither would be trusted, how good soever. Stories tell us in effect, though not in termes, that over-risen Kings, have been the next evills[9] to the world, unto fallen[8] Angels; and that over-franchised people, are devills with smooth snaffles in their mouthes. A King that lives by Law, lives by love; and he that lives above Law, shall live under hatred doe what he can. Slavery and knavery[10] goe as seldome asunder, as Tyranny and Cruelty.

1. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
2. Not italicized in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Italicized in 1st edition.
4. thinke in 1st and 2d editions.
5. self in 3d edition.
6. J for I in 1st edition.
7. undoeth in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. faln in 1st and 2d editions.
9. over-franchized in 1st edition.
10. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.

I[1] have a long while thought it very possible, in a time of Peace, and in some Kings Reigne, for disert Statesmen, to cut an exquisite thred between[2] Kings Prerogatives, and Subjects Liber ties of all sorts, so as Caesar might have his due, and People theri share, without such sharp[3] disputes. Good Casuists would case it, and case it, and part it,[4] and part it;[5] now it, and then it, punctually. Aquinas, Suarez or Valentia, would have done it long ere this, had they not beene[6] Popish, I might have said Knavish;[7] for[8] they be so any where, it is in their Tractates of Priviledges. Our Common Law doth well, but it must doe better before things do[9] as they should. There are some Maximes in Law, that would be[10] taught to speake[11] a little more mannerly, or else well Anti-Maxim'd:[12] wee[13] say, the King can doe a Subject no wrong; why may wee[13] not say[14] the Parliament can doe[15] the King no wrong? We say, Nullum tempus occurrit Regi in taking wrong; why may wee[16] not say, Nullum tempus succurrit Regi in doing wrong? which I doubt will prove as good a[17] Canon if well examined.

1. J for I in 1st edition.
2. 1st edition inserts: and quite through
3. sharpe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. No comma in 1st edition.
5. Comma in 1st edition.
6. been in 1st and 2d editions.
7. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
9. doe in 1st and 2d editions.
10. bee in 1st and 2d editions.
11. speak in 1st and 2d editions. (speake in catch-waord)
12. Anti-maxim'd in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. we in 1st and 2d editions.
14. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
15. do in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
16. we in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
17. 1st, 2d and 3d editions read: will prove a better Canon. Comma after Canon in 1st edition.

Authority must have power to make and keep people honest; People, honestly[1] to obey Authority; both, a joynt-Councell to keep[2] both safe. Morall Lawes,[3] Royall Prerogatives, Popular Liberties, are not of Mans making or giving, but Gods: Man is but to measure them out by Gods Rule: which is mans wisdome cannot reach, Mans experience must mend: And these Essentialls, must not be Ephorized or Tribuned by one or a few mens[4] discretion, but lineally sanctioned by Supreme[5] Councels. In pro-re-nascent occurrences, which cannot be foreseen; Diets,[6] Parliaments, Senates, or accountable Commissions, must have power to consult and execute against intersilient dangers and flagitious crimes prohibited by the light of Nature: Yet it were good if States would let People know so much before hand, by some safe woven manifesto, that grosse Delinquents may tell no tales of Anchors and Buoyes, nor palliate their presumptions with pretence of ignorance. I[7] know no difference in these Essentialls, between Monarchies, Aristocracies, or Democracies; the rule will be[8] found, par-rationall[9] say Schoolemen and Pretorians what they will. And in all, the best standard[10] to measure Prerogatives, is the Plough staffe,[11] to measure Liberties, the Scepter: if the tearms were a little altered into

1. honesty in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. keepe in 3d edition.
3. Laws in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. Supreame in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Diats in 1st edition.
7. J for I in 1st edition.
8. bee in 2d edition.
9. In 1st edition this phrase reads: the rule and reason will be found all one,
10. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
11. Plough-staffe in 1st edition.

Loyall Prerogatives and Royall Liberties, then we should be sure to have Royall Kings and Loyall Subjects.

Subjects their King, the King his Subjects greets,
Whilome the Scepter and the Plough-staffe meets.[1]

But Progenitors have had them for four and twenty predecessions: that would be spoken in the Norman tongue or Cimbrian, not in the English or Scottish: When a Conquerour turnes Christian, Christianity turns[2] Conquerour: if they had them time out of minde of man, before Adam was made, it is not a pin to the point in foro rectae rationis: Justice and Equity were before time, and will be after it: Time hath neither Politicks nor Ethicks, good nor evill in it; it is an empty thing, as empty as a New-English purse, and emptier it cannot bee:[3] a man may break his neck in time, and in a lesse time than he can heale it.

But here is the deadly pang, it must now be taken by force and dint of sword: I confesse it is a deadly pang to a Spirit made all of flesh, but not to a mortified heart: it is good to let God have his will as hee[4] please, when we have not reason to let him have it as we should; remembring, that hitherto he hath taken order[5] that ill Prerogatives gotten by the Sword, should in time be fetcht home by the Dagger, if nothing else will doe it: Yet I trust there is

1. Verse not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. turnes in 1st and 2d editions.
3. be in 1st and 2d editions.
4. he in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.

both day and means[1] to intervent this[2] bargaine. But if they should,[3] if God will make both King and Kingdome[4] the better by it, what should either lose? I[5] am sure there is no great cause for either to make great brags.

Pax quo carior, eo charior.

A peace well made, is likeliest then to hold,
When 'tis both dearly bought and dearly sold.[6]

I[7] confesse, he that parts with such pearles to be paid in old iron, had need to be pityed more by his faithfull friends, than he like to be by his false flatterers. My heart is surcharged, I can no longer forbear.[8]

MY Dearest Lord, and my more than dearest King; I[9] most humbly beseech you upon mine aged knees, that you would please to arme your minde with patience of proofe, and to intrench your selfe as deepe[10] as you can, in your wonted Royall meeknesse; for I[9] am resolved to display my unfurled soule in your[11] face, and

1. meanes in 1st and 2d editions.
2. that in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Semi-colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
5. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Not separated by double spacings in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. J for I in 1st edition.
8. forbeare in 1st edition.
9. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
10. deep in 1st edition.
11. 1st, 2d and 3d editions insert: very.

to storme you with volyes of Love and Loyalty. You owe the meanest true Subject you have, a close account of these open Warres:[1] they are no Arcana imperii. Then give me[2] leave to inquire of your Majesty, what you make in fields of blood, when you should be amidst your Parliament of peace: What you doe sculking in the suburbs of Hell, when your Royall Pallaces stand desolate, through your absence? What moves you to take up Armes against your faithfull Subjects, when your Armes should bee[3] embracing your mournfull Queen? What incenses your heart to make so many widdowes[4] and Orphans, and among the rest your owne?[5] Doth it become you, the King of the stateliest Island[6] the world hath, to forsake your Throne, and take up the Manufacture of cutting your Subjects throats, for no other sinne,[7] but for Deifying you so overmuch, that you cannot be[8] quiet in your Spirit, till they pluckt you downe[9] as over-low? Doe your three Kingdomes[10] so trouble you, that they must all three be set on fire at once, that when you have done, you may probably runne[11] away by their light into utter darknesse? Doe your three Crownes fit to[12] heavy on your head, that you will break the backs of the three bodies that set them on, and helpt you beare them so honourably? Have your three Lamb-like flocks so molested you,

1. Semi-colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. mee in 2d and 3d editions.
3. be in 1st edition.
4. Widdows in 1st edition. Widowes in 2d and 3d editions.
5. own in 1st edition.
6. J for I in 2d edition.
7. sin in 1st and 2d editions.
8. bee in 2d and 3d editions.
9. down in 1st edition.
10. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
11. run in 1st edition.
12. so in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

that you must deliver them up to the ravening teeth of[1] evening Wolves? Are you so angry with those that never gave you just cause to be angry, but by their to[2] much feare to anger you at all, when you gave them cause enough? Are you so weary of Peace, that you will never bee[3] weary of Warre?[4] Are you so willing to warre at home, who were so unwilling to warre abroad, where and when you should? Are you so weary of being a good King, that you will leave your selfe[5] never a good Subject? Have you peace of Conscience, in inforcing[6] many of your Subjects to fight for you against their Conscience? Are you provided with Answers at the great Tribunall, for the destruction of so many thousands, whereof every man was as good a man as your Selfe,[7] qua man?

Is it not a most unworthy part for you to bee[3] running away from your Subjects in a day of battell,[8] upon whose Pikes you may come safe with your naked breast and welcome? It is honourable for you to bee[3] flying on horses, from those that would esteeme it their greatest honour, to beare you on their humble shoulders to your Chaire of Estate, and set you down upon a Cushion stuffed with their hearts? Is it your prudence to be inraged with your best friends, for adventuring their lives to rescue you from your worst enemies? Were I a King,

1. 2d edition inserts: the.
2. too in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. be in 1st and 2d editions.
4. warres in 1st edition. Warres in 2d edition.
5. self in 1st and 2d editions.
6. enforcing in 1st edition.
7. Self in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. battel in 2d edition.

pardon the supposall, I would hang that Subject by the head, that would not take me by the heels,[1] and dragge mee[2] to my Court, when hee[3] sees me shifting for life in the ruined Countrey, if nothing else would doe it; And I would honour their very heels,[1] that would take me by the very head, and teach me, by all just meanes, to King it better, when they saw me un-Kinging my selfe,[4] and Kingdome:[5] Doe you[5] not know Sir, that, as when your people are sicke of the Kings-evill, God hath given you a gift to heale them? so when your selfe are sicke of it, God hath given the Parliament a gift to heale you: Hath your Subjects love been so great to you, that you will spend it all, and leave your children little or none? Are you so exasperated against wise Scotland, that you will make England your foole or foot-stoole? Is your fathers sonne[6] growne more Orthodox, then his most Orthodox father, when he told his sonne,[7] that a King was for a kingdome, and not a kingdome for a King? parallell[8] to that of the Apostle; the husband is but by the wife, but the wife of the husband.

Is **Majestas** Imperij[9] growne so kickish, that it cannot stand quiet with Salus Populi, unlesse it be fettered? Are you well advised, in trampling your Subjects so under your feet, that they can finde no

1. heeles in 1st and 2d editions.
2. me in 1st and 2d editions.
3. he in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. No comma in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
7. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. paralell in 1st and 2d editions.
9. Imperii in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

place to be safe in, but over your head: Are you so inexorably offended with your Parliament, for suffering you to returne as you did, when you came into their house as you did, that you will be avenged on all whom they represent? Will you follow your very worst Councell so far,[1] as to provoke your very best, to take better counsell than ever they did? If your Majesty be not Popish[2] as you professe, and I am very willing to beleeve, why doe you put the Parliament to resume the sacrament of the Alter[3] in saying, the King and Parliament, the King and Parliament? breaking your simple Subjects braines to understand such mysticall Parlee-ment?[4] I question much, whether they were not better speake plainer English, then[5] such Latine as the Angels can hardly construe, and God happily loves not to perse;[6] I can as well admit an ubiquitary King as another, if a King be abroad in any good affaire; but if a King be at home, and will circumscribe himselfe at Oxford, and proscribe or disscribe[7] his Parliament at Westminster, if that Parliament[8] will prescribe what they ought, without such paradoxing, I[9] should think God would subscribe a Le Dieu le veult readily enough.[10]

Is your Advisera such a Suavamen to you, that hath been such a Gravamen to Religion and Peace? Shall the cheife[11] beering

1. farre in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Altar in 3d editions. 1st and 2d editions read: Alter of Consubstantiation.
4. Parliament in 1st edition.
5. than in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. parse in 1st edition.
7. discribe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. Not italicized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. Italicized in 1st edition.
10. The last two words are omitted in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. chiefe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

wombe of your Kingdome,[1] be ever so constituted, that it cannot be delivered of its owne deliverance, in what pangs soever it be, without the will of one man-midwife, and such a man as will come and not come, but as he list: nor bring a Parliament to bed of a well-begotten Liberty without an entire Subsidy?[2] Doe not your Majesty being a Schollar, know that it was a truth long before it was spoken, that Mundus est unus aut nullus, that there is Principium purum unum, which unites the world and all that is in it; where that is broken, things fall asunder, that whatsoever is dūable or triable, is fryable.

Is[3] the Militia of your Kingdome,[4] such an orient flower of your Crowne, which all good Herbalists judge but a meere nettle, while it is in any one mans hand living? May not you as well challenge the absolute disposall of all the wealth of the Kingdome[4] as all the strength of your Kingdome?[4] Can you put any difference? unlesse it bee this, that mens hearts and bones are within their skins, more proper and intrinsecall, their lands and cattell more externall: dare you not concredit the Militia,[5] with those to whom you may betrust your heart, better then your owne breast? Will they ever harme you with the Militia, that have no manner of Malitia[4] against you, but for mis-imploying the Militia against them by the malitia of your ill Counsellours? What good will the Militia doe you when you have wasted

1. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. Substidie in 1st edition. Substidy in 2d and 3d editions.
3. J for I in 2d edition.
4. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Not capitalized in 1st edition.

the Realm[1] of all the best Milites[2] it hath? May not your Majesty see through a paire[3] of Spectacles, glazed with inch-board, that while you have your Advisers in one hand, and the Militia in the other, you have the necks[4] of your Subjects under your feet, but not your heart in your owne hand? doe you not knowe that malum est, posse malum?

Hath Episcopacy beene such a religious Jewell in your State;[5] that you will sell all or most of your Coronets, Caps of honours, and blue Garters, for six and twenty cloth Caps? and your Barons Cloakes,[6] for so many Rockets, whereof usually twenty have had scarce good manners enough to keepe the other six sweet? Is no Bishop no King, such an oraculous Truth, that you will pawne your Crowne and life upon it? if you will, God may make it true indeed on your part: Had you rather part with all,[7] then lose a few superfluous tumours,[8] to pare off your monstrousnesse? Will you be so covetous, as to get more then you ought, by loosing[9] more than you need? Have you not driven good Subjects enough abroad, but you wil[10] also slaughter them that stay at home? Will you take such an ill course, that no prayers can fasten[11] that good upon you we desier? Is[12] there not some wors[13] root than

1. Realme in 1st and 2d editions.
2. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
3. pair in 2d edition.
4. neckes in 2d edition.
5. Comma in 1st, 2d and3d editions.
6. Cloaks in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. withall in 1st edition.
8. tumors in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
9. losing in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. will in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. In 1st, 2d and 3d editions the remainder of the sentence reads: any good upon you?
12. J for I in 2d edition.
13. worse in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

all these[1] growing in your Spirit, bringing forth al[2] this bitter fruit? Against[3] which you should take up Arms, rather then[4] against your harmelesse Subjects? Doe you not foresee, into what importable head-tearings and heart-searchings you will be ingulfed, when the Parliament shall give you a mate, though but a Stale?

[5]Methinkes it should breake your heart, to see such a one as I, presume so much upon your clemency[6] &[7] too much upon your Majesty, which your selfe have so eclipsed by the interposall of your Selfe[8] between your Selfe and your Selfe, that it hath not ray's enough left, to dazle downe the height of my affections to the awe of my Judgement.

Tres-Royall Sir, I once againe beseech you, with teares dropping from my hoary head, to cover your Selfe as close as you may, with the best shield of goodnesse you have: I[9] have somewhat more to say, which may happily trouble not your Selfe, but your followers, more than what is already said. There lived in your Realme and Reigne two whom I[9] may well tearme Prophets, both now in a better Kingdome;[10] whereof one foretold two things concerning your Majesty, of these very proceedings, long before they began; which being done and past shall bee buried in silence: the other made this prediction about the same time.

1. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
2. all in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. than in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. Not paragraphed in 1st and 2d editions; Methinks in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. Capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. and in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Self in 3d edition.
9. J for I in 2d edition.
10. Not capitalized in 1st edition.

King Charles will joyne himselfe[1] to bitter Griefe,
Then joyne to God, and prove a Godly Chiefe.[2]

His words were in prose these, King[3] Charles will come into fetters, meaning strong afflictions, and then prove as good a King,[3] as such a good King[3] of Israel, whom he then named, but I need not: he was inwardly acquainted with the minde of God, as fervent and frequent a Beadsman for your welfare, and had as religious Opticks of State, as any man I know: foure other Predictions he made, full as improbable as this, whereof three are punctually performed. A good Christian being sometime in conflicts of Conscience, hurried with long tentations, used this speech to my selfe, I am now resolved to be quiet, for I plainly see, God will save me whether I will or no: If your Majesty would be pleased to thinke so in your heart, and say so with your mouth, all the good Subjects you have, would say, Amen, till the heavens rang, and I hope you have few so bad, but would say, So be it.

Much lamented Sir, if you will please to retire your Selfe, to your Closet, whither you may most safely come, and make your peace with God, for the vast heritage of sinne your Intombed father left upon your score, the dreadful Imprecation he poured upon the heads of his tender posterity[4] in Summersets[5] and Overburyes Case, pub-

1. Capitalized in 1st edition.
2. Verses not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Sommersets in 1st and 2d editions.

lished in Starchamber by his Royall[1] command; your own[2] sinful[3] mariage,[4] the sophistication of Religion and Politie in your time, the luxury of your Court and Country,[5] your connivence with the Irish butcheries, your forgetfull breaches upon the Parliament, your compliance with Popish Doegs, with what else your Conscience shall suggest and give us your, guilty Subjects example to doe the like, who have held pace and proportion with you in our evill wayes: we will helpe you by Gods assistance, to poure out rivers of tears, to wash away the streams of blood, which have beene shed for these heavy accounts; wee[6] will also helpe you, God helping us, to beleeve, that there is hope in Israel for these things; and Balme enough in his Gilead to heale all the broken bones of your three kingdomes, and to redouble your honour and our peace: His Arme is infinite; to an infinite power all things are equally faisible,[7] to an infinite mercy all sinnes equally pardonable. The Lord worke these things in us and for us, for his compassions sake in Jesus Christ.

Sir, you may now please to discover your Selfe where you thinke meet;[8] I trust I have not endangered you: I presume your Ear-guard[9] will keep farre enough from you, what ever I have said: be it so, I have discharged my duty, let them looke to theirs.

1. This word is not found in 1st and 2d editions.
2. owne in 1st and 2d editions.
3. sinfull in 1st and 2d editions.
4. marriage in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Countrey in 1st and 2d editions.
6. we in 1st and 2d editions.
7. No comma in 1st and 2d editions.
8. In 1st, 2d and 3d editions the phrase reads: where you please.
9. Eare-guard in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

my tongue should reach your eares, which I little hope for; let it be once said; The great King of great Britaine, took[1] advise of a simple Cobler, yet such a Cobler, as will not exchange either his blood or his pride, with any Shoo-maker or Tanner in your Realme, nor with any of your late Bishops which have flattered you thus in peeces: I[2] would not speak[3] thus in the eares[4] of the world, through the mouth of the Presse for all the plunder your plunderers have pillaged; were it not somewhat to abate your Royall indignation toward a loyall[5] Subject; a Subject whose heart hath been[6] long carbonado'd,[7] des veniam verbo, in flames of affection towards you. Your Majesty knowes[8] or may know, time was, when I[9] did, or would have done you a better peece of service, then[10] all your Troopes and Regiments are now doing. Should I[2] heare[11] any Gentleman that followes[12] you, of my yeares, say hee[13] loves you better than I,[9] if it were lawfull, I[9] would sweare by my Sword,[14] he said more then[15] his sword would make good.

Gracious Sir, Vouchsafe to pardon me[16] my no other sins,[17] but my long Idolatry[9] towards you, and my loving you too hard in

1. tooke in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
3. speake in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. ears in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. loyoll in 1st and 2d editions.
6. beene in 1st edition and in catchword of 2d edition.
7. carbonadoed in 1st and 2d editions.
8. know in 1st edition. knows in 2d edition.
9. J for I in 1st edition.
10. than in 1st edition.
11. hear in 2d and 3d editions.
12. follow in 1st edition. follows in 2d edition.
13. he in 1st edition.
14. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
15. than in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
16. me in 1st edition.
17. sinne in 1st edition. sin in 2d and 3d editions.

this speech,[1] and I[2] will pardon you your Treason[3] against me, even me,[4] by committing Treason against your Selfe my Lord and King: and your murther, in murthering me, even me, by murthering my deare[6] fellow Subjects,[7] bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh, and of yours also. If[2] you will not pardon me, I[2] will pardon my selfe,[8] dwell in my owne[9] clothes[10] as long as I[2] can, and happily[11] make as good a shift for[12] my proportion, as he[13] that hath a lighter paire of heeles:[14] And when you have done what you please,[15] I[2] am resolved to be

I speake in termes of Divinity not of Law and am deepely grieved that I am forced to such necessary over-boldnesse.[5]

<u>As loyall a Subject to your Majesty when I have never a head on my shoulders, as you a Royall King to me, when you have yours three Crownes on your head,</u>[16]

Theod: de la Guard.

1. The phrase: and...speech, was added in the 4th edition.
2. J for I in 1st edition.
3. Not capitalized in 1st edition.
4. mee in 2d edition.
5. This note was added in the 4th edition.
6. dear in 1st edition.
7. fellow-Subjects in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. self in 1st and 2d editions.
9. own in 2d and 3d editions.
10. cloaths in 1st edition. cloathes in 2d edition.
11. This word added in 4th edition.
12. fo in 1st edition.
13. hee in 2d edition.
14. heels in 1st edition.
15. 1st, 2d and 3d editions insert here: and what you can,
16. Period in 1st and 2d editions.

1
Sir,

I Cannot give you over thus; I most earnestly implore you, that you would not deferre to consider your selfe throughly, you are now returned to the brinke of your Honour and our Peace, stand not too long there, your State is full of distractions, your people or expectations, the importune Affaires of your Kingdome perplexedly suspended, your good Subjects are now rising into a resolution to pray you on to your Throne, or into your Tombe, into Grace with your Parliament and people, or into Glory with the Saints in Heaven; but how you will get into the one, without passing first through the 'other, is the riddle they cannot untye; if they shall ply the Throne of Grace hard, God will certainely heare, and in a short time mould you to his minde, and convince you, that it had and will bee farre easier to sit downe meekely upon the Rectum, than to wander resolutely in obliquities, which with Kings, seldome faile to dissembogue into bottomlesse Seas of sorrowes.

Dearest Sir, be intreated to doe what you doe sincerely; the King of Heaven and Earth can search and discover the hiddenest corner of your heart, your Parliament understands you farre better than you may conceive, they have many eares and eyes, and good ones, I beleeve they are Religiously determined to re-cement you to your Body so exquisitely, that the Errors of State and Church, routed by these late stirs, may not re-allee hereafter, nor Themselves be made

1. The two following paragraphs were added in the 4th edition.

a curse to the issue of their own bodies, nor a Scoffe, to all Politique Bodies in Europe. The Lord give your Majesty and all your Royall Branches the spirit of wisedome and understanding, the Spirit of knowledge and his feare, for His mercy and Christ his sake.

I[1] would my skill would serve me also, as well as my heart, to translate Prince Rupert, for his Queen-mothers sake, Eliz. a second. Mismeane me not. I have had him in my armes when he was younger, I wish I had him there now: if I mistake not, he[2] promised then to be a good Prince, but I doubt he hath forgot it: if I thought he would not be angry with me, I would pray hard to his Maker, to make him a right Roundhead, a wise hearted[3] Palatine, a thankfull man to the English; to forgive all his sinnes, and at length to save his soule, notwithstanding all his God-damne mee's: yet I may doe him wrong; I am not certaine hee useth that oath; I wish no man else would; I dare say the Devills dare not. I thank God I have lived in a Colony of many thousand English[4] these twelve years,[5] am held a very sociable man; yet I may considerately say, I never heard but one Oath sworne, nor never saw one man drunk,[6] nor ever heard of three womenAdulteresses, in all this time, that I can call to minde: If these sinnes bee amongst us privily, the Lord heale us. I would not bee understood to boast of our innocency; there is no cause I should, our hearts may be bad enough, and our lives much better. But to follow my businesse.

1. This is a double line capital in the 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. hee in 1st and 2d editions.
3. wise-hearted in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. The 1st, 2d and 3d editions insert: almost.
5. yeares in 1st and 2d editions.
6. drunke in 1st and2 d editions.

Prosecutions of Warres between a King and his Parliament, are the direfull dilacerations of the world, the cruell Catastrophes of States, dreadfull to speak[1] of; they are nefanda & n'agenda: I know no grounds can be given of them but two: Either upon Reason[2] founded upon some surmisall of Treason, which my reason cannot reach: I could never conceive why a rationall King should commit Treason against a reasonable Parliament; or how a faithfull Parliament against their lawfull King: the most I can imagine, is a misprision of Treason, upon a misprision of Reason. He[3] that knowes[4] not the spirit of his King, is an Atheist. Our King is not Charles le simple sometime of France: he understands not our King that understands him not to bee[5] understanding. The Parliament is supposed Omniscient,[6] because under God they are Omnipotent: if a Parliament have not as much knowledge and all other Vertues,[7] as all the kingdome[8] beside, they are no good Abridgement of the Common-wealth.[9] I beleeve Remonstrances have demonstrated enough concerning this point of Reason, to give satisfaction to such as satisfaction will satisfie.[10]

1. speake in 1st and 2d editions.
2. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
3. hee in 1st and 2d editions.
4. knowes in 1st and 2d editions.
5. be in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Colon in 1st and 2d editions.
7. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
9. Commonwealth in 1st and 2d editions.
10. No period in 1st and 2d editions. No space follows this line in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

Or upon Will.

The Will of a King is numinous; it hath a kinde of vast universality in it, it is many times greater then the will[1] of his whole kingdome, stiffened[2] with ill Counsell and ill Presidents: if it be not a foot and half[3] lesser than the Will of his Councell, and three foot lesser than[4] the Will of his Parliament,[5] it is too big. I think[6] it were well for a King if hee[7] had no will at all, but were all Reason.[8] What if he committed his morall will to Divines, that were no Bishops? his Politicall, to his Parliament, and a Councell chosen by Parliament? that if ever it miscarry, they may blame themselves most, and him least. I[9] scarce know any King that hath such advantage as ours; his three kingdomes lye so distinct and entire, that if he[10] please, he might keep[11] them like three gardens without a weed, if he would let God keep[11] his will, without wilfulnesse and rashnesse.

I have observed men to have two kindes of Wills, a Free-hold will, such as men hold in Capite of themselves; or a Copy-hold will, held at the will of other Lords or Ladies. I have read almost all the Common Law of England, and some Statutes; yet I never read, that Par-

1. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
2. stifned in 1st and 2d editions.
3. halfe in 1st and 2d editions.
4. that in 1st and 2d editions.
5. No comma in 1st and 2d editions.
6. thinke in 1st and 2d editions.
7. he in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
9. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
10. hee in 1st and 2d editions.
11. keepe in 1st and 2d editions.

liament held their will in such a Capite: their Tenure is Knight-service, and good Knight-service too, or else they are to blame, And I am sure, a King cannot hold by Copy, at the will of other Lords; the Law calls that base tenure, inconsistent with Royalty; much more base is it, to hold at the will of Ladies: Apron-string tenure is very weak, tyed but of a slipping knot, which a childe may undoe, much more a King. It stands not with our Queens honour to weare an Apron, much lesse her Husband, in the strings; that were to insnare both him and her selfe in many unsafeties. I never heard our King was Effeminate: to be a little Uxorious personally, is a vertuous vice in Oeconomicks; but Royally, a vitious vertue in Politicks. To speak English, Books &[1] Tongues[2] tell us, I wish they tell us true, that[3] the Error[4] of these Wars[5] on our Kings part, proceeds only from ill Counsellours.

[6]Ill Counsellours, are very ill Gamesters; if they see their own stake a losing,[7] they will play away King, Queen, Bishops, Knights, Rooks, Pawnes, and all, before they will turn[8] up the board; they that play for lusts, will play away themselves, and not leave themselves so much as a heart to repent; and then there is no Market left but Hell; if the case be thus, it is to no end to look for any end,

1. and in 1st,2d and 3d editions.
2. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
3. I . . . that, added in 4th edition.
4. errour in 1st and 2d editions.
5. warres in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Not a new paragraph in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. loosing in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. turne in 1st and 2d editions.

till one side make an end of the other.

They that at stake their Crownes and Honours set,
Play lasting games, if Lust or Guilt doe bet.

[1]Cessation.

[2]IF God would vouchsafe to give his Majesties Religion and Reason, power to fling his Wills[3] head over the Wall, in matter of Composition, and his Subjects strength to throw their lusts after it, Arms[4] would be soon laid down, and Peace soon taken up. They that are not at peace with God, are not at peace with themselves, whatever they think; and they that are not at peace with themselves, cannot be at peace with others, if occasion provokes, be their nature never so good.

So farre as I can conjecture, the chiefe impediment to a generall and mutuall Cessation of Armes, is, a despaire of mutuall and generall forgivenesse. If ever England had need of a generall Jubile in Heaven and Earth, it is now. Our King and Parliament have been at great strife, who should obtaine most Justice: if they would now strive, who should shew most Mercy, it would heare well throughout the world. Here also my speech must be twofold and blind-fold.

1. Not preceded by double space in 3d edition.
2. Common capital in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Armes in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

It is now nine Moneths and more since the last credible News was acted: it is possible by this, the Parliament may be at the Kings mercy: Did I say a Kings mercy? what can I say more? no man on earth, can shew more mercy then[1] a King, nor shall need more[2], when he comes to give an Account of his Kingdome: Nor die ever any Parliament merit more mercy than this, for they never sinned, that I know, I mean[3] against the Common and Statute Law of England: it is pity they who give so many general[4] pardons, should want one now.

[5]If our King hath lost his way, and thereby learned to looke[6] to his path better hereafter, and taught many Successors to King it right for many Ages; [7] Methinks it should impetrate a Royall Redintegration, upon a Royall acknowledgement and ingagement. But how should an erring King trust a provoked Parliament? Surely he[8] may trust God safe enough; who will never trust that State more with a good King, that will doe ill to a King that is turned so good. Me thinkes[9] those passages of Scripture, Esa. 43.24,25. chap.[8] 57.[10] 17,18. The strange illation, Hos.2.13,14. should melt a heart of steele into floods of mercy.

For others, were my head, one of the heads which first gave the King Counsell to take up these Armes, or to persist in them, when

1. than in 1st and 2d editions.
2. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
3. meane in 1st and 2d editions.
4. generall in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. No paragraph in 1st and 2d editions.
6. look in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
9. thinks in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.

at any time he would have disbanded, I would give that head to the Kingdome, whether they would or no; if they would not cut it off, I would cut it off my selfe,[1] and tender it at the Parliament doore, upon condition that all other heads might stand, which stand upon penitent hearts, and will doe better on than off; then I would carry it to London-Bridge, and charge my tongue to teach all tongues, to pronounce Parliament right hereafter.

[2] When a kingdom[3] is broken just in the neck joynt, in my poore policy, ropes and hatchets are not the kindliest instruments to set it: Next to the spilling of the blood of Christ for sin, the sparing of the blood of sinners, where it may be as well spared as spilt, is the best way of expiation. It is no rare thing for Subjects to follow a leading King; if he will take his truncheon in his hand, it is to be[4] expected many will put their swords in their Belts. Sins that rise out of mistake of judgement, are not so sinfull as those of malice ordinarily: and when multitudes sin, multitudes of mercy are the best Anodines.

[5]-- gratia gratis data, gratissima.

Grace will dissolve, but rigour hardens guilt;
Break not with Steely blows,[6] what oyle should melt.

1. self in 1st and 2d editions.
2. No paragraph in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. kingdome in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. it must be, in 1st and 2d editions.
5. No space between this and preceding line in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. blowes in 1st and 2d editions.

In Breaches integrant, 'tween Principalls of States,
Due Justice may suppresse, but Love redintegrates.[1]

Whosoever be pardoned, I pray let not Britanicus[2] scape, I mean a pardon. I take him to bee[3] a very serviceable[4] Gentleman: Out of my intire[5] respect to him, I shall presume to give him half[6] a dozen stitches of advise:[7]

I intreat him to consider that our King is not onely a man, but a King in affliction; Kings afflictions are beyond Subjects apprehensions; a Crown may happily ake as much as a whole Commonwealth.

I desire him also to conceale himself as deeply as he can, if he cannot get a speciall pardon, to weare a Latitat, about his neck, or let him lie close under the Philosophers stone, and I'le warrant him for ever b eing found.

If he be discovered, I[8] counsell him to get his head set on faster than our New-England Taylors use to set on Buttons; Kings, and Kings Childrens memories are as keen as their Subjects wits.

If he fears any such thing, that he would come over to us, to helpe recruite our bewildred brains:[9] we will promise to maintain him so long as he lives, if he will promise to live no longer then we maintain him.

1. The two couplets are printed as a quatrain in the 3d edition.
2. Probably refers to Mercurius Britannicus, a Parliamentarian periodical written chiefly by Marchamont Needham. See account of latter in D.N.B.
3. be in 1st, 2 d and 3d editions.
4. 1st, 2d and 3d editions read: well deserving.
5. entire in 1st and 2d editions.
6. halfe in 1st and 2d editions.
7. Period in 1st and 2d editions.
8. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
9. pumpkin blasted braines in 1st and 2d editions.

If he should bee[1] discovered and his head chance to be cut off against his will, I[2] earnestly beseech him to bequeath[3] his wits to me and mine in Fee-simple, for wewant them, and cannot live by our hands in this Country.

Lastly, I[2] intreat him to keep his purse, I[2] give him my counsell gratis, confessing him to be more then my match, and that I[2] am very loath to fall into his hands.

Prosecution.

IF[4] Reformation, Composition, Cessation, can finde no admittance, there must and will be Prosecution: to which I would also speake[5] briefly[6] and indifferently still to both sides; and first to that, which I had rather call Royalists then malignants;[7] who if I mistake not, fight against the Truth.

Foolish Cowardly man (I pray patience, for I speak nothing but the pulse of my owne[8] heart) dreads and hates, nothing in Heaven or Earth, so much as Truth: it is not God, nor Law, nor sinne,[9] nor death, nor hell, that he feares, but onely[10] because hee[11] feares there is Truth in them: Could he de-truth them all, he would defie them all: Let Perdition it selfe[12] come upon him with deadly threats,

1. be in 1st and 2d editions.
2. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
3. bequeathe in 1st, 2d and 3 d editions.
4. Ordinary capital in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. speak in 1st and 2d editions.
6. briefely in 1st and 2d editions.
7. Cavaliers in 1st and 2d editions.
8. own in 1st and 2d editions.
9. sin in 1st and 2d editions.
10. onely in 1st and 2 d editions.
11. he in 1st and 2d editions.
12. self in 1st and 2d editions.

fiery swords, displayed vengeance, he cares not;[1] Let Salvation come cap in hand, with naked Reason, harmlesse Religion, lawny imbracements, he will rather flye or dye, than entertaine it; come Truth in what shape it will, hee[2] will reject it: and when hee can beat it off with most steely prowesse, he thinkes himselfe the bravest man[3] when in truth it is nothing but exsanguine feeble exility of Spirit. Thy heart, saith the Prophet Ezek.16.30. is weake, like the heart of an imperious whorish woman: a man would thinke, the heart of an imperious whore, were the very pummell of Scanderbergs,[4] sword; alas, shee[5] is hen-hearted, shee dares not looke Truth in the face; if she[6] dared, shee[7] would neither bee[8] whorish, nor imperious, nor weake. He shewes[9] more true fortitude, that prayes quarter of the least Truth, at a miles distance, than hee that breakes through and hewes downe the most Theban[10] Phalanx[11] that ever field bore.[12] Paul expressed[13] more true valour, in saying, I can doe nothing against the Truth, than Goliah, in defying the whole hoste of Israel.

Couragious Gentlemen, Yee that will stab him that gives you the lye; take heed yee spend not your bloods, limbes[14] and soules,

1. Colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. he in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Semi-colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. No punctuation in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. she in 1st and 2d editions.
6. shee in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. she in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. be in 1st and 2d editions.
9. shews in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
10. Thebean in 1st and 2d editions.
11. Phalaux in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
12. bare in 1st and 2d editions.
13. exprest in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
14. limbs in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

in fighting for some untruth: and yee that will fling out the gantlet to him that calls you Coward, dishonour not your selves with such Cowardise, as to fight against Truth, meerly for feare of it. A thousand pities it is[1] such gallant Spirits should spend their lives, honours, heritages, and sweet relations in any Warres,[2] where, for ought many of them know, some false mistake commands in Cheife.[3]

Honoured Country men,[4] bee intreated to love Truth: if it loves not you againe, and repaires not all your losses, then install some Untruth[2] in its room[5] for your Generall. If you will needs warre, be perswaded to contend lawfully, wisely and stedfastly against all errours[6] in Divinity and Policy: they are the cursed Counter-mures, dropt Portcullises, scouring[7] Angi-ports, sulphurious Granado's, laden murtherers, peevish Galthropes, and rascall desparadoes which the Prince of lyes imployes with all his skill and malice, to maintaine the walls and gates of his kingdome, when Truth would enter in with grace and peace to save forlorne sinners, and distressed commonwealthes;[8] witnesse the present deplorable estate of sundry States in Europe.

Give me[9] leave to speake a word more: it is but this; Yee will finde it a farre easier field, to wage warre against all the Armies that ever were or will be on Earth, and all the Angels of Heaven,[2] then

1. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Chiefe in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. Country-men in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. roome in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Errors in 1st and 2d editions.
7. scowring in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
8. Capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
9. mee in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

to take up Armes against any truth of God: It hath more Counsell and strength than all the world besides; and will certainly either gaine[1] or ruine, convert or subvert every man that opposes it. I hope ingenuous men will rather take advice, then offence at what I have said: I had rather please ten, than grieve one intelligent man.

If this side be resolute, I turne me to the other.[2]

Goe on brave Englishmen, in the name of God, go on prosperously, because of Truth and Righteousnes: Yee that have the cause of Religion, the life of your Kingdome and of all the good that is in it in your hands: Goe on undauntedly: As you are Called and Chosen, so be faithfull: Yee fight thebattells of the Lord, bee neither desidious nor perfidious: You serve the King of Kings, who stiles you his heavenly Regiments,[3] Consider well, what impregnable fighting[4] it is in heaven, where the Lord of Hosts is your Generall, his Angels[5] your Colonels, the Stars[6] your fellow-souldiers, his Saints[6] your Oratours, his Promises[6] your victuallers, his Truth[6] your Trenches; where Drums are Harps, Trumpets joyfull sounds; your Ensignes[6] Christs Banners; where your weapons and armour[6] are spirituall, therefore irresistable, therefore impierceable;[7] where Sun[8] and wind cannot disadvantage you, you are above them; where hell it selfe cannot hurt you, where your swords

1. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
2. This line is not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
3. Colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
4. Angells in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Colonells in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
7. impiercable in 1st and 2d editions.
8. Sunne in 1st and 2d editions.

are furbushed and sharpened[1] by him that made their metall, where your wounds[1] are bound up with the oyle of a good Cause, where your blood runs[2] into the veynes of Christ, where sudden death is present martyrdome and life; your funerals[3] resurrections[4] your honour[5] glory; where your widows and babes are received into perpetuall pensions; your names lifted among Davids Worthies; where your greatest losses are greatest gaines; and where you leave the troubles of war,[6] to lye down in downy beds of eternall rest.

What good will it doe you, deare Countrymen, to live without lives, to enjoy England without the God of England, your Kingdome without a Parliament, your Parliament without power, your Liberties without stability, your Lawes without Justice, your honours without vertue, your beings without wel-being,[7] your wives without honesty, your children without morality, your servants without civility, your lands without propriety, your goods without immunity, the Gospel without salvation, your Churches without Ministery, your Ministers without piety, and all you have or can have, with more teares and bitternesse[8] of heart, than all you have and shall have will sweeten or wipe away?

Goe on therefore Renowned Gentlemen, fall on resolvedly, till your hands cleave to your swords, your swords to your enemies

1. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
2. runnes in 1st and 2d editions.
3. funeralls in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Semi-colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. warre in 1st and 2d editions.
7. 1st, 2d and 3d editions read: tranquility.
8. sweeteen in 1st and 2d editions.

hearts, your hearts to victory, your victories to triumph, your triumphs to the everlasting praise of him that hath given you Spirits to offer your selves willingly, and to jeopard your lives in high perils,[1] for his Name and service sake.

And Wee your Brethren, though we necessarily abide beyond Jordan, and remaine on the American Sea-coasts, will send up Armies of prayers to the Throne of Grace, that the God of power and goodnesse, would incourage your hearts, cover your heads, strengthen your arms, pardon your sinnes, save your soules, and blesse your families, in the day of Battell. Wee will also pray, that the same Lord of Hosts, would discover the Counsels,[2] defeat the Enterprizes, deride the hopes, disdaine the insolencies, and would the hairy scalpes of your obstinate Enemies, and yet pardon all that are unwillingly misled. Wee will likewise helpe you beleeve that God will be seen on the Mount, that it is all one with him to save by many or few, and that he doth but humble and try you for the present, that he may doe you good at the latter end. All which hee bring to passe who is able to doe exceeding abundantly, above all we can aske or thinke, for his Truth and mercy sake in Jesus Christ.

Amen. Amen.

1. perills in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. Counsells in 1st and 2d editions.

[1] A Word of IRELAND:

Not of the Nation universally, nor of any man in it, that hath so much as one haire of Christianity or Humanity growing on his head or beard, but onely of the truculent Cut-throats, and such as shall take up Armes in their Defence.

THese Irish anciently called Antropophagi, man-eaters: Have a Tradition among them, That when the Devill shewed our Saviour all the Kingdomes[2] of the Earth and their glory, that he would not shew him Ireland, but reserved it for himselfe:[3] it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever since for his own peculiar; the old Fox foresaw it would ecclipse the glory of all the rest: he thought it wisdome to keep[4] the land for a Boggards for his unclean spirits imployed in this Hemisphere, and the people, to doe his Son and Heire, I mean the Pope, that service for which Lewis the eleventh kept his Barbor Oliver, which makes them so blood-thirsty. They are the very Offall of men, Dregges of Mankind, Reproach of Christendom,[5] the Bots that crawle on the Beasts taile[6] I[7] wonder Rome it self is not ashamed of them.

1. In the 1st, 2d and 3d editions this section starts a new page, having an ornamental heading that is the same for the three editions. This heading is of the same design as that used in the fourth edition to head the section: A most humble heel-piece,etc.
2. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3 d editions.
3. himself in 1st and 2d editions.
4. 1st and 2d editions here read: to keep it for a Boggards for himself, and all his unclean spirits, etc.
5. Christendome in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Comma in 1st, 2d and 3 d editions.
7. J for I in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

I[1] begge upon my,[2] hands and knees, that the Expedition against them may be undertaken while the hearts and hands of our Souldiary are hot, to whom I[1] will be bold to say briefly; Happy is he that shall reward them as they have served us, and Cursed be he that shall do that work of the Lord negligently, Cursed be he that holdeth back his Sword from blood:[3] yea, Cursed be he that maketh not his Sword starke drunk with Irish Blood, that doth not recompence them double for their hellish treachery to the English, that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their Country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Astonishment to Nations: Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be spared, that pities or spares them, and let him be accursed, that curseth not them bitterly.

1. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
2. No comma in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Semi-colon in 1st and 2d editions.

# #

[1]A word of Love to the Common people
of England.

IT is, your, now or never, to muster up puissant Armies of prayer to the mercy Seate; your Body Representative, is now to take in hand, as intricate a peice of worke, as ever fell into the hands of any Parliament in the world, to tye an indissoluble knot upon the webb which hath been woven with so much cost and bloud, wherein if they happen to make one false maske, it may re-imbarque themselves and you all into a deadly relapse of scorne and calamity. It is the worke of God not of man, pray speedily therefore, and speedingly, give him no rest till your rest be throughly re-established, Your God is a God whose name is All-sufficient, abundant in Goodnesse and Truth, on whom the Sonnes of Iacob never did, nor shall call in vaine, you have a Throne of Grace wherto you may goe bodly; a Christ to give you a leading by the hand and liberty of speech, an Intercessor in Heaven to offer up your prayers wrapp'd in his own; a large Charter aske and have, a Spirit to helpe all your infirmities in that duty, a sure Covenant that you shalbe heard, and such late incouragement as may strengthen your feeble hands for ever. If you who may command God concerning the work of his hand, shall faile to demand the workemanship of his hand in this worke, your children will pro-

1. This section was added in the 4th edition.

claime you unthrifts with bitter teares to the worlds end.

If you see no cause to pray, read

Jer. 18. 1. ---10.

Be also intreated to have a continuall and conscientious care not to impeach the Parliament in the hearts one of another by whispering complaints, easilier told then tryed or trued. Great bodyes move but slowely, especially when they move on three leggs and are over-loden with weighty occasions. They have now sate full six years without intermission to continue your being, many of their heads are growne gray with your cares, they are the High Councell of the Kingdome, the great Gilead of your Balme, the Phisitians of all your sicknesse; if any of them doe amisse, blame your selves, you chose them, be wiser hereafter; you cannot doe the State, your selves, your posterity a more ungratefull office then to impaire them with disparagements and discoragements who are so studious to repaire your almost irreparable ruines.

Be likewise be seeched, not to slight good ministers, whom you were wont to reverence much, they are Gods Embassadours, your Ephods, your Starres, your Horse-men & Chariots, your Watchmen, & under Christ your Salvation, I know no deadlier Symptome of a dying people than to undervalue godly Ministers, whosoever despiseth them shall certainly be despised of God and men at one time or other.

# # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # #

[1]A most humble heel-piece.

TO THE

Most Honourable Head-piece

THE

Parliament of England.

I Might excuse my selfe in Part, with a speech Lycurgus used in the like exigent of State, senectute fio audacior, publica necessitate loquacior, but it much better becomes mee with all lowlinesse and uprightnesse, wherein I have failed to pray pardon on both my knees, which I most humbly and willingly doe; only, before I rise, I crave leave to present this six-fold Petition.

That you would be pleased

To preserve the Sacred reputation of Parliaments, or, wee shall have no Common-wealth.

To uphold the due estimation of good Ministers, else wee shall have no Church.

To heale the sad dislocation of our Head, throughly, prefectly, or wee shall have no King.

To oppugne the bold violation of divine Truths, else wee shall have no God.

1. This section was added in the 4th edition.

To proceed with what zeale you began, or what you began can come to little end.

To expedite worke with what speede you safely may, else ignorant people will feare they shall have no end at all.

Hee that is great in Counsell, and Wonderfull in Working, guide and helpe you in All things, that doing All things in Him, by Him, and for Him, you may doe All things like Him.

So be it.

# # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # #

[1]A respective word to the Ministers of ENGLAND.

FARRE bee it from mee, while I dehort others to slight you my selfe, or to despise any man but my selfe, whom I can never despise enough: I rather humbly intreate you to forgive my boldnesse, who have most just cause to judge my selfe lesse and lesse faithfull than the least of you all, yet I dare not but bee so faithfull to you and my selfe, as to say

They are the Ministers of England, that have lost the Land; for Christs sake, put on His Bowels, His wisdome, His zeale, and recover it.

1. This section was added in the 4th edition.

[1] I pray[2] let me drive in half a dozen plaine honest Country Hobnailes, such as the Martyrs were wont to weare; to make my work hold the surer; and I have done.

1. THere, lives cannot be good,
There, Faith cannot be sure,
Where Truth cannot be quiet,
Nor Ordinances pure.

2. No King can King it right,
Nor rightly sway his Rod;
Who truely loves not Christ,
And truely fears not God.

3. He cannot rule a Land,
As Lands should ruled been,
That lets himself be rul'd
By a ruling Romane Queen.

4. No earthly man can be
True Subject to this State;
Who makes the Pope his Christ,
An Heretique his Mate.

1. This section follows the ERRATA in the 1st edition.
2. I pray: added in 4th edition.

5. There Peace will goe to War,
And Silence make a noise:
Where upper things will not
With nether equipoyse.

6. The upper world shall Rule,
While Stars will run their race:
The nether world obey,
While People keep their place.

The Clench.

IF any of these come out
So long's the world doe last:
Then credit not a word
Of what is said and past.

# # # # # # # # # # # # # # # #

E R R A T A

AT NON

CORRIGENDA.

NOW I[1] come to rubbe over my work, I[1] finde five or six things like faults, which would be[2] mended or commended, I[1] know not well which, [3]nor greatly care.

1. For Levity, read,[4] Lepidity, _____and that a very little, and that very necessary, if not unavoydable.

[5]Misce stultitiam Consiliis brevem

-Dulce est desipere in loco. Horat.

To speak to light heads with heavy words, were to break their necks: to cloathe Summer matter, with Winter Rugge, would make the Reader sweat. It is musick to me, to hear[6] every Dity speak its spirit in its apt tune: every breast, to sing its proper part, and every creature, to expresse it self in its naturall note: should I[1] heare a Mouse roare like a Beare, a Cat lowgh like an Oxe, or a Horse whistle

1. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
2. bee in 1st and 2d editions.
3. The three following words were added in the 4th edition.
4. No comma in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
6. heare in 1st and 2d editions.

like a Red-breast, it would scare[1] mee.[2]

The world's a well strung fidle, mens tongue the quill,
That fills the world with fumble for want of skill,
When things and words in tune and tone doe meet,
The universall song goes smooth and sweet.

2. For audacity, read, veracity, or Verum Gallice non libenter audis. Mart.[3] Flattery never doth well, but when it is whispered through a paire of lisping teeth; Truth best, when it is spoken out, through a paire of open lips, Ye make such a noyse[4] there, with Drums and Trumpets, that if I should not speak loud, ye[5] could not hear me. Ye talke one to another, with whole Culvering and Canon; give us leave to talk Sqibs and Pistoletto's charged with nothing but powder of Love and shott[6] of Reason: if you will cut such deep gashes in one anothers flesh, we must sow them up with deep stitches, else ye may bleed to death: ye[7] were better let us, your tender Countrymen doe it, than forraine Surgeons, who will handle you more cruelly, and take no other pay, but your Lives and Lands.

Aspice vultus,
Ecce meos, utinamque oculos in pectore posses
Inferere: & patrias intus deprendere Curas. Ovid. (Phoeb.

1. The dash is not found in 1st and 2d editions.
2. me in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Martial in 1st and 2d editions.
4. noise in 1st and 2d editions.
5. yee in 1st and 2d editions.
6. shot in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
7. forraigne in 1st and 2d editions.

He that to tall men speakes, must lift up's head,
And when h'hath done, must set it where he did:
He that to proud men talkes, must put on pride;
And when h'hath done, 'tis good to lay't aside.

3. For, Yes, but you speak at three thousand miles distance, which every Coward dare doe, read, if my heart deceives me not, I would speak thus, in the Presence Chamber or House of Commons; Hoping Homer will speak a good word for me.

Θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνηρ ἐν πάσίνων
Ἐργοίσι. ———

Omnibus in rebus potior vir fortis & audax
Sit licet hospes, & e longinquis venerit oris.

When Kings are lost, and Subjects cast away,
A faithfull heart should speak[1] what tongue can say:
It skils not where this faithfull heart doth dwell,
His faithfull dealing should be taken well.

4. For, affected termes, read, I hope not ——— If[2] I[2] affect termes, it is my feeblenesse; friends that know me, think[3] I[2] doe not; I[2] confesse, I[2] see I[2] have here and there taken a few

1. speake in 1st and 2d editions.
2. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
3. thinke in 1st and 2 d editions.

finish stitches, which may haply please a few Velvet[1] eares;[2] but I[3] cannot now well pull them out, unless I[3] should seame-rend all. It[3] seames it is in fashion with you to sugar your papers[4] with Carnation phrases, and spangle[5] your speeches[6] with new quodled words. Ermins in Minifer is every mans Coat.[7] Yet we heare[8] some are raking in old musty Charnel books,[9] for old mouldy monesyllables;[10] I[3] wish they were all banisht to Monmouthshire, to return[11] when they had more wit.

[12] Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere, cadentque

Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus. Hor.

I honour them with my heart, that can expresse more than ordinary matter in ordinary words: it is a pleasing eloquence;[13] them more that study wisely and soberly to inhance their native language; them most of all, that esteem[14] the late significant speech, the third great blessing of the Land; it being so enriched, that a man may speak[15] many Tongues[16] in his Mothers[17] mouth[18] and an up-

1. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
2. ears in 1st and 2d editions.
3. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Comma in 1st edition. The following three words are not found in the 1st edition.
5. dapple in 1st and 2d editions.
6. Comma in 1st edition.
7. Colon in 1st and 2d editions.
8. hear in 1st and 2d editions.
9. charnell-books in 1st and 2d editions.
10. monosyllables in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
11. returne in 1st and 2d editions.
12. Not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
13. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
14. esteeme in 1st and 2d editions.
15. speake in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
16. Not capitalized in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
17. Not capitalized in 1st and 2d editions.
18. Semi-colon in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

landish Rustick[1] more in one word than himselfe and all the Parish understands. Affected termes are unaffecting things to solid hearers; yet I hold him prudent, that in these fastidious times, will helpe disedged appetites with convenient condiments, and bangled ears, with pretty quicke pluckes. I speak[2] the rather because, not long since, I met with a book, the best to me[3] I ever saw, but the Bible, yet under favour, it was somewhat underclad, especially by him who can both excogitate and expresse what hee undertakes, as well as any man I know.

[4]The world is growne so fine in words and wit,[5]
That pens must now Sir Edward Nich'las it.
He that much matter speek, speaks[6] ne'r a whit.[7]
If's tongue doth not career't above his wit.[5]

5. For, You verse it simply, what need have we of your thin Poetry; read, I confesse I wonder at my self, that I should turne Poet: I[8] can impute it to nothing, but to the flatuousnesse of our diet: they are but sudden raptures soone up, soone downe.

[4]
-- Deductum dicere Carmen, is highly commended by Macrobius.

Virgil himself[9] said,

1. Rusticke in 1st and 2d editions.
2. speake in 1st and 2d editions.
3. mee in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. witt in 1st and 2d editions.
6. speakes in 1st and 2d editions.
7. whitt in 1st and 2d editions.
8. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
9. himselfe in 1st and 2d editions.

Agrestem tenui meditabor arundine musam.

[1]Poetry's a gift wherein but few excell;
He doth very ill, that doth not passing well.
But he doth passing well, that doth his best,
And he doth best, that passeth all the rest.

6. For,[2] tediousnesse, read, I am sorry for it _____ We[3] have a strong weaknesse in N.E. that when wee are speaking, we know not how to conclude:[4] wee make many ends, before we make an end: the fault is in the Climate; we cannot helpe it though we can, which is the Arch infirmity[5] in all morality: We are so near the West pole, that our Longitudes are as long, as any wise man would wish, and somewhat longer. I[6] scarce know any Adage more gratefull:[7] than Grata brevitas.

[1]Verba confer maxime ad compendium. Plaut.

Coblers will mend, but some will never mend,
But end, and end, and end, and never end.
A well-girt houre gives every man content,
Sixe ribs of beefe, are worth sixe weeks of Lent.

1. Not set off by spaces in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
2. No comma in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Wee in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Semi-colon in 1st and 2d editions.
5. Arch-infirmity in 1st and 2d editions.
6. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
7. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.

For, all my other faults, which may bee more and greater than I see, read, I am heartily sorry for them, before I[1] know them, least I[2] should forget it after; and humbly crave pardon at adventure, having nothing[3] that I[1] can think of, to plead but this,

Quisquis inops peccat, minor est reus[4]. Petron.

Poore Coblers well may fault it now and then[5],
They'r ever mending faults for other men.
And if I worke for nought, why is it said,
This bungling Cobler would be soundly paid?

So farewell England old
If evill times ensue,
Let good men come to us,
Wee'l welcome them to New.

And farewell Honor'd[6] Friends,
If happy dayes ensue,
You'l have some Guests from hence,
Pray welcome us to you.

1. J for I in 1st and 2d editions.
2. lest in 1st and 2d editions.
3. Comma in 1st and 2d editions.
4. Not separated from the preceding in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.
5. Not separated from the preceding in 1st and 2d editions.
6. loving in 1st and 2d editions.

And farewell simple world,

If thou'lt thy Cranium mend,

There is my Last and All,

And a Shoem-Akers

END.[1]

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1. End in 1st, 2d and 3d editions.

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> When bootes and shoes are torne up to the lefts,
> Coblers must thrust their awles up to the hefts.
> This is no time to feare Appelles gramm:
> Ne Sutor quidem ultra crepidam.

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Shirley W. Harvey was born on November 2, 1892, at West Somerville, Massachusetts, the son of James Ellsworth Harvey and Ellen Porter Harvey. He was educated in the public schools of Clinton, Massachusetts, and Concord, New Hampshire. In 1912, following his graduation from Concord High School, he entered Dartmouth College, graduating in 1916 with the degree of A.B., cum laude, and with Honors in English. During the following two years he taught at Tufts College Engineering School, at the same time pursuing

graduate work at Harvard University. He received the degree of A.M. from Harvard in 1918. The following September he was appointed instructor of English at the Horace Mann School for Boys in New Y rk City. A severe illness caused his resignation before the end of the year. In the fall of 1922 he went to Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, as instructor of English. In 1924 he returned to Harvard for further graduate work. The next year he was appointed instructor of English at Harvard and Radcliffe, in which capacity he served for nine years. He spent the summer of 1928 in England as a research student on a Dexter Scholarship from Harvard.

While at Harvard, Mr. Harvey served as Secretary to the Committee on the Use of English by Students for the year 1930-31. During the period of his graduate work he also gave courses at Northeastern University in Boston, and during two summers taught in the Harvard Summer School and the Summer Session of Emmanuel College in B ston. Since 1927 he has taught at The Erskine School in Boston. During 1935 and 1936 he completed his graduate studies at Boston University.

Mr. Harvey is the author of Chaucer's Debt to Sacrobosco in The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, January, 1935.

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